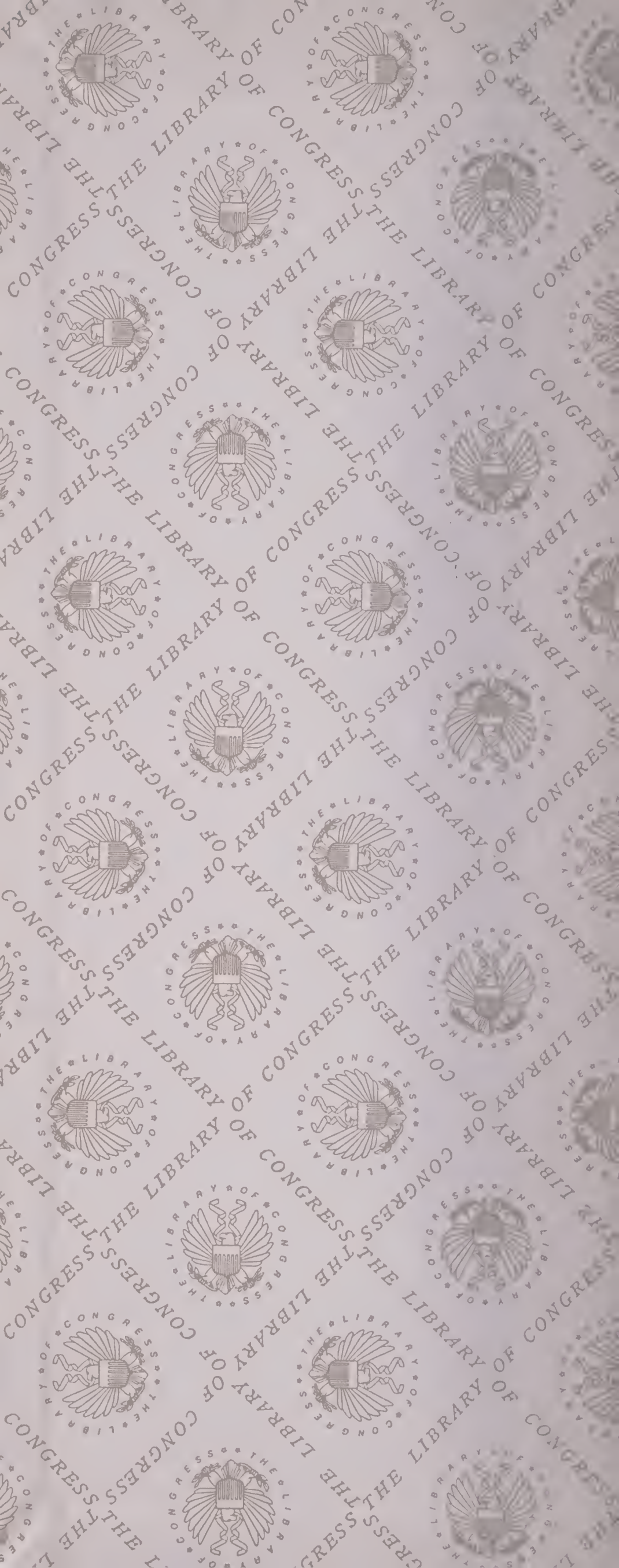


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THE
“Yonkers Plan”
FOR
Prohibition Enforcement

THE "Yonkers Plan"

FOR

Prohibition Enforcement

together with

A system of local organization
which any community can use
to develop a sound, active public
sentiment for law and order.

A Text Book and Working Manual for Community Use

by

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON, LL. D.

Attorney and Counselor-at-Law; State Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League of New York; Member National Legislative and Executive Committees, Anti-Saloon League of America; Member Executive Committee, World League Against Alcoholism; Citizenship Chairman of the Epworth League for New York State; Chairman Committee on Public Policy, Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church; General Superintendent of the "Allied Citizens of America, Inc."



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THE EXECUTIVE STAFF OF THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF NEW YORK—

that group of consecrated practical experts who have not only labored, some of them intensively, to perfect this manual, but who helped to accomplish things such as ratification by New York which were generally pronounced "impossible" and whose fidelity, efficiency and capacity for team work in the pioneering efforts necessary to prove the soundness and practicability in operation of the principles of organization herein set out have lifted this document above the level of the merely theoretical, and to

MY WIFE—

keen, frank and wise adviser, both inspiration and stay throughout the more than twenty years of experience condensed into these pages, and whose insistence that I had a local civic obligation beyond the duties incident to my official connection with general prohibition efforts was a chief factor in moving me to begin the work in my own community which developed into the "Yonkers Plan."

THE AUTHOR.

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SENT OUT WITH A PRAYER

This manual, written with helpful suggestion from the outstanding experts of America on the question of prohibition enforcement, makes no pretense of being a contribution to literature. It is designed as a combined weapon and implement to be used by all law-abiding citizens of a community in that widespread offensive defense against criminal traffickers in liquor which is immediately necessary throughout the land if National Prohibition is not to be discredited before it has had a fair chance.

The launching of the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Inc." nearly three years ago and of the "YONKERS PLAN" over a year ago, were not matters of official drudgery, but personal labors of love, prompted by a desire to help advance the Kingdom of God. This prohibition enforcement manual, offering the "YONKERS PLAN" program and the "ALLIED CITIZENS" basis of civic organization to all who will take and use them, is sent out with the prayer that every person who undertakes to do so for the benefit of his own community may be as conscious of Divine leading and blessing as the writer has been throughout the service which has made the tender of them possible.

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON.

Yonkers, New York, October 15, 1921.

Chapter 1

SOME "PLAN" ESSENTIALS TO BE READ FIRST

A WARNING TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FROM THE JUDGES OF THE LAND

"The Judicial Section of the American Bar Association, venturing to speak for all the judges, wishes to express this warning to the American people: Reverence for law and enforcement of law depend mainly upon the ideals and customs of those who occupy the vantage ground of life in business and society. The people of the United States, by solemn constitutional and statutory enactment, have undertaken to suppress the age-long evil of the liquor traffic. When, for the gratification of their appetites, or the promotion of their interests, lawyers, bankers, great merchants and manufacturers, and social leaders, both men and women, disobey and scoff at this law, or any other law, they are aiding the cause of anarchy and promoting mob violence, robbery and homicide: they are sowing dragon's teeth, and they need not be surprised when they find that no judicial or police authority can save our country or humanity from reaping the harvest."

Unanimously adopted by the Judicial Section (composed only of Judges) of the American Bar Association at the Annual Convention at Cincinnati, August 31, 1921.

"Let reverence for the law * * * become the political religion of the Nation."—Abraham Lincoln.

WHOM IT CONCERNS AND WHEN IT IS TO BE USED

This manual is no attempt to dictate the character of any community's enforcement activity. It is an endeavor to give full instructions for starting and operating two proved, seasoned, effective agencies for getting results—the "YONKERS PLAN" and the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Inc."—if, and when, they are once adopted.

If there is any community which does not need what the manual offers, that is its good fortune. Where a community in fact does need it but its leadership lacks the vision to realize the necessity for anything so deep-rooted or far-reaching, that is its misfortune,—but not a subject of debate in this manual. To keep citizens and communities from being misled or making mistakes in deciding whether either or both shall be adopted, two governing and fundamentally qualifying propositions are laid down:

(1) The "YONKERS PLAN" is a method to be resorted to when (in the judgment of the particular community) the regular officials corruptly refuse or wilfully neglect to enforce the prohibition law despite previous offers of co-operation and friendly warnings from the friends of law, or after other plans have broken down and other remedies have failed. IT BEGINS WHERE OTHER EFFORTS STOP. Recognizing the need of protecting the honest, capable official, and believing that most officials are not only willing but really PREFER to do their duty and stand with the decent, law-abiding element if they believe it is politically safe to do so, the "PLAN'S" concentration of publicity

upon bad, derelict or indifferent officials is designed primarily to develop a sound, active public sentiment for law and order.

The above presupposes that the "ALLIED CITIZENS", or its equivalent, or the local branch of whatever working system of organization is approved by the Anti-Saloon League in any State, or some local organization or a number of influential citizens,—NOT AS PART of the "YONKERS PLAN" but as PRELIMINARY to it,—have made a sincere, earnest effort to co-operate with the officials and have encouraged them to do their duty respecting enforcement, warning them, when necessary, to give them a chance to accomplish satisfactory results or show the public good reason why they cannot. General principles and specific suggestions for such effort are found in detail in Chapter 4.

(2) The "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA"—or its "CITIZENS ALLIANCE" equivalent explained herein—which it has cost the Anti-Saloon League of New York more than three years of time and much more than \$100,000 in money to develop into a demonstrated success in the most difficult field in America, is offered only to the communities that need it either because they have no organization or because those they have tried have broken down or fallen short. Its management explicitly disclaims either intent or wish to have it used in any effort to displace or compete with any adequate working plan of organization already in use in any community, or any plan which any community thinks it wants regardless of whether it really works or is adequate, or any working plan recommended by any State Anti-Saloon League to communities within its borders, for the simple reason that even a perfect plan would not work in a community that does not want it.

THE "YONKERS PLAN" DEFINED

The old, common procedure in volunteer prohibition law enforcement effort has been for a group or local organization, through detectives, at private expense, to obtain evidence of violation of law. This evidence would then be turned over, as a basis for prosecution, to officials who might and often did suppress the fact of the violation as well as of their failure to do their duty. This procedure amounted to an attempt to assume the responsibility and do the work of the officials, besides being equivalent to a demand that the officials take action which would tend to discredit themselves. Failure was inevitable, for the obvious reason that such a volunteer movement with neither official power nor legal standing, had to encounter not only the open opposition of law violators, but usually also the secret hostility of the enforcement officials, who, somewhere between the gathering of the evidence and the verdict of the jury or final decision of the court, could encompass the defeat of justice.

The "YONKERS PLAN" is to find out how the prohibition law is being enforced in a community and then to tell the public so that a sentiment may be aroused which will make officials enforce the law as they are paid from tax funds to do. It does not touch the selection or election of any public official. Its object, in its own phrase, is to "BACK UP good officials—JACK UP the others." Its own basic proposition is: "PUBLICITY IS THE ONLY SURE-ACTING POLITICAL PROPHYLACTIC."

CHOICE IS FREE BUT MISTAKES ARE EXPENSIVE

If, prior to the inauguration of the "YONKERS PLAN" and provided such procedure is not called the "YONKERS PLAN", a community's desire to co-operate with the officials goes so far as to employ a detective or detectives to get information about local conditions and give the officials the names and locations of violators so that such officials may the better discharge their official responsibility to secure sufficient evidence against the persons indicated to bring about their conviction, that is a matter the community must decide for itself. **Care, however, must be taken by the community workers not to fly in the face of all experience and make the fatal blunder of assuming the burden of furnishing any evidence as a basis for court action, thus undertaking to insure a conviction even in spite of possible official obstruction or treachery.** To do that would be in effect to guarantee, without the possibility of positive knowledge or the certainty of protection, both the honesty and efficiency of the officials all the way down the line.

Such method of aid, even if the special and fundamental danger just indicated is avoided, may require the fruitless expenditure of considerable money, and the loss of much time. If the officials thereupon pretend to get busy and succeed in deceiving the community or a considerable part of it, for example by making a brave show of punishing petty offenders while the big ones who pay for protection are allowed to run as long as they keep under cover, the failure to secure results within a reasonable time may discourage some of the natural supporters of enforcement. It may make it necessary to start over again with a new set of officials about the time the old ones are finally pushed into real effort, **meanwhile sacrificing the chance to create and crystallize a public sentiment that will compel action from every set of officials.**

But if, with eyes open to the possible cost in these directions, a community thinks that adherence to its idea of fairness to officials is worth such a price, then **the sooner it has what it wants the sooner it will want what it needs.**

WHY IT IS NEEDED—SELF-GOVERNMENT ON TRIAL

The issue before the American Republic is not merely whether the sale of alcoholic beverages shall be prohibited, but whether a democracy can make good on its moral convictions.

Before national prohibition was enacted, failure to win a particular contest merely delayed the benefits of prohibition. Now that it is the law of the land, failure to enforce it not only forfeits its benefits but lessens respect for all law and fosters anarchy. Any such failure will also discount the sincerity of the electorate in its enactment—especially the membership of the churches that most zealously promoted it.

The question is whether self-government can run only down hill. It has never been any trouble for republics to grow big or get rich; their difficulty has been to stay clean. The present effort for prohibition enforcement will answer the question, for the hope of the World and the life of America. whether a democracy can develop civic courage and efficiency commensurate with the collective conscience of its citizenship. Good citizens cannot afford to permit America to fail in her supreme effort of moral self-restraint.

It is not enough, in an isolated instance, under

special circumstances, for some citizens of unusual initiative and courage to be able to secure some temporary, proper relief on a particular issue of law enforcement, independent of the agencies of government and in spite of public officials. No American can afford to be satisfied until every citizen, anywhere, can enjoy the benefits accruing from the enforcement of all laws in the established manner, through the willing, efficient activity of the proper officials.

NOT A PLEA BUT A MANUAL

This is not a homily on the need for enforcement nor an argument that law should be observed and upheld. It is assumed that patriotic citizens believe every law should be enforced until repealed in the proper way. This is a textbook and working manual not only for those who want a fair test of prohibition under honest enforcement, but also for all who recognize the need of upholding every law because in a free government the law officially represents the sovereign will of the people,—and who want to know how to aid in attaining that end.

It is written for the average conscientious citizen. Even the man or woman who shrinks from the responsibility or prominence of leadership is here told how to arouse and enlist leaders on this issue. Careful study of it will enable any earnest citizen to discharge to the full his or her responsibility toward the creation of a working public sentiment, though he or she be without experience in law enforcement or any other phase of community work.

No attempt has been made to cover the question of state and national enforcement legislation except so far as the enforcement of an imperfect law is the best way to obtain its improvement, and the enforcement of a good law is the best way to protect and retain it. For example, the enforcement, anywhere else in the world, of limited or local prohibition is the best way to hasten complete prohibition, while the use of the essentials of the "YONKERS PLAN" to expose the failure of the enforcement of "regulation" will hasten the opportunity for prohibition in the smaller units under local option, which is a stepping stone to general prohibition.

No effort has been made, either, to cover the general field of political reform except as compelling officials to make good on one vital issue of combined patriotism and morality, such as enforcement, is the surest, quickest way to permanently cleaner politics and better government.

SHOULD BE WIDELY READ

While this prohibition enforcement manual should be **STUDIED** by those who expect to **LEAD** the enforcement work of their particular communities, **it should be READ not merely by leaders but by all whose moral and financial support is desired.** Enforcement results will be in proportion both to enlightened public sentiment and the public's understanding of the principles underlying successful enforcement. The persons whose support is most wanted will not endorse this "PLAN" unless they know enough about it to form an intelligent judgment. The Committee carrying on the "YONKERS PLAN" will not be sure of full public support in holding fast to the "PLAN" against efforts made to get them to deviate from it unless there is wide public acquaintance with the reasons set out in this enforcement manual why certain things should be done and certain other things not done. Those

who have read the manual will know why. "Economy" in disseminating truth necessary to liberate one's community from the tyranny of lawlessness is as foolish as "saving" seed necessary to give a normal crop.

OFFERED WITHOUT STRINGS

One need not be a supporter of the Anti-Saloon League to use the "PLAN." It can be operated anywhere if pushed according to instructions by an adequate committee of interested citizens. It is presented on its merits, utterly independent of the Anti-Saloon League, except in so far as the League in any State may adopt it as a program or the people of given communities may choose to avail themselves of the League's aid in starting and working it. Every community, however, has a right to know how it can be helped by other communities through both the Anti-Saloon League and the general system of related local organizations here explained. Conclusive proof of the unselfishness and disinterestedness of these proposals is found in the fact that nobody can make any financial profit out of them. It costs nothing to become an active member of the "ALLIED CITIZENS," and it is not necessary for any community to pay anything to any person or organization in order to make local use of the "YONKERS PLAN" or of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" system of organization.

THERE IS NO "PECULIAR COMMUNITY"

Prohibition was submitted by the representatives of the Nation as a whole. It was ratified by the representatives of the States as States. But it must be enforced by each community for itself.

Human nature and the causes of non-enforcement are the same everywhere. The right way to secure enforcement in one place is, in essentials, the right way in every place. But because certain public officers, such as county officials, are elected by many communities jointly, therefore back of proper methods there must be a general system of local organization and a group of related, actually working organizations to carry proper methods into effect. This manual explains such a system of organizations and outlines a proper practical program for their adoption.

NOT TO DO POLICE WORK

Private citizens are not called to make a business of hunting down law breakers. **But it is their duty to know whether law breakers are hunted down.** Publicity, the deadliest destroyer of conditions that make for political corruption, is the best political disinfectant and cleanser in the government of a free people. This treatise tells how to use that cleanser upon the responsible public officials and, if they still fail, upon the voters responsible for electing them to, and retaining them in, office.

BOTH ARE ESSENTIAL

A plan which does not develop BOTH sentiment for enforcement **of**, as well as obedience **to**, law, and also organization to carry that sentiment into effect, will fail. Organization without sentiment is as dead as an electric motor without electric current. Sentiment without organization is as futile as lightning, and may be as dangerous.

SAFEGUARDS FOR MAN WHO HELPS

Intelligent, influential citizens who because of civic spirit or moral conviction have been caught in

foolish enforcement efforts or have become skeptical from watching such attempts, are wisely unwilling to gamble on the possibility of a local movement being able to evolve a sane, workable plan. Every such person will recognize at once that this "PLAN" is fundamentally sound; and that a manual giving definite detailed directions as to its inauguration and operation will be his protection. It will give him the right to insist that the work be carried on according to the provisions here set out, and thus insure that his contribution will be used for the purpose and in the manner he intended.

IT DOES THE JOB

The "YONKERS PLAN" is not offered as a theoretical basis for an experiment. This manual has been delayed until it could report results. The "PLAN" has been tried in a city of 100,000 people, abutting against the New York City boundary line,— "next to the largest city in the world." This city contains all possible city problems in an intensified form, including a preponderance of factory workers of foreign birth or extraction who do not comprehend the American ideals and standards of life that led to prohibition. The complexity of its situation is increased by an army of New York City commuters who do little more than sleep in Yonkers and are largely indifferent to local conditions but have been largely prejudiced against prohibition and enforcement through reading wet New York City newspapers.

Despite these obstacles the operation of the "PLAN" drove hostile officials to public recognition of their duty and responsibility. They dropped the pretense that prohibition enforcement is purely a Federal matter and made raids, arrests and seizures and expelled crooked policemen. Their efforts have resulted in indictments, convictions and the progressive throttling of saloons. And the work is only well started. No private millennium is claimed for Yonkers. But there is movement, and in the right direction, **and under its own steam.**

Examination of the court records of Westchester County, of which Yonkers is a part, showed four times as many liquor cases disposed of from Yonkers in the first quarter of 1921 as in all four quarters of 1920 combined, **and the same regular officials did the work.** Improvement in sentiment and willingness to aid spread beyond Yonkers. Similar increases in official activity occurred in the rest of the county.

GIVES PERMANENT RESULTS

Making and focusing tangible majority sentiment for popular observance and official enforcement of the law is the whole object of the "PLAN." Hence it works with ever increasing power toward a genuine, permanent cure. It is as fundamental as human nature and majority rule. Wherever it has been applied, under whatever direction and whatever it is named it has always worked. Under it any community which will **pay the price in effort, sacrifice and patience can be ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN of victory over liquor lawlessness no matter how clever, influential or unscrupulous the criminals.** Power involves responsibility. Ability to compel enforcement of law carries obligation to undertake it. Nothing else than the principles invoked has ever given lasting results. If it should fail anywhere that will not prove that the "PLAN" is wrong. An unhappy result will merely indicate that it has not

been worked properly or as long or as hard as necessary.

SPECIAL ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITY IS NEEDED BECAUSE THE HARDEST PART OF THE PROHIBITION FIGHT IS YET TO COME

The liquor traffic is neither dead nor sleeping. It is more awake, more intelligent (because more sober), more aggressive, better organized and more wisely advised than ever before in its history. It has discovered that an illicit traffic, with few Americans engaged in it, not only discredits prohibition but, if connived at by officials, yields profits from which to pay the expense, indefinitely, of the fight to get back inside the protection of the law. Like an invading army it lives on the country and compels those it ravages to furnish ammunition to be used against themselves. More than twenty-five new liquor organizations, many of them under supposedly patriotic titles, have already been launched, appealing for membership to those whose growing thirst has overcome their past indifference to prohibition. Many wet city newspapers are more mendacious in their misrepresentation and distortion of facts in an effort to show either that prohibition is a failure, or that enforcement efforts are fanatical infringements of fundamental rights, than they were in their efforts to block the enactment of it originally.

The indisputable benefits of even partial prohibition have been howled down by nullification clamor till the unthinking begin to acquiesce and the timorous to yield. Fraud, lawless defiance, and official incompetence, indifference or venality have robbed the people of normal benefits of national prohibition in former wet centers for more than its first two years. Yet, despite this proof of need of further protection, the wets were able in a Congress elected overwhelmingly dry, to delay for more than half a year, fair, reasonable, supplemental legislation essential to enforcement, by pressing, under the dishonest pretext of protecting the constitutional rights of private citizens, a vitiating amendment which would paralyze the enforcement arm of the Government. They openly avow their intention to fight as many years as necessary, first to nullify the Eighteenth Amendment under the guise of law by repealing or "liberalizing" Federal and State enforcement laws and ultimately to repeal the Amendment itself. They cannot repeal the Amendment—but it will be a dead letter without adequate enforcement laws, for it contains no penalty clause or provision for punishment.

The person who, in the face of the inescapable facts thus briefly summarized, still insists that "the fight is over," "prohibition is here to stay," "the situation will cure itself" and "the virus of lawlessness will run out if let alone," if not a secret enemy or wilful shirker, is a victim of civic and moral sleeping sickness or auto-stupefaction.

Friends of prohibition, advocates of law, and those who believe any policy adopted by the American people is not only entitled to a fair test but must have it to prevent failure of the American system, are squarely challenged to fight or quit. Only the **first phase** of the prohibition fight is won. The second will be harder. How long it will last will depend upon the earnestness and thoroughness of enforcement. The only thing that will save the day is something that combines initial punch with staying power—an enforcement program that is a mixture of militancy and education—only this will

prevent the break-down of local, state and national government in wet centers and the spread of that breakdown elsewhere.

LEGALIZATION OF BEER MEANS RETURN OF SALOON

The liquor interests are fighting for permission to sell "light" beer as the entering wedge in their return from outlawry. They pretend to concede that the saloon is gone forever and claim to seek only the right to sell beer and wine for family consumption under "rigid restrictions." The failure of "restrictions" to restrict the liquor traffic is the main reason why prohibition was adopted by a nation which had found out that prohibition **prohibits** far better than "regulation" **regulates**. More than 90% of the alcoholic liquor sold in America under license was beer. Therefore the legalization of beer would automatically destroy more than 90% of American prohibition besides affording a legalized cover for the sale of stronger liquor.

Despite brewery claims that beer is a temperance drink, it has been scientifically and conclusively proved that even $2\frac{3}{4}\%$ beer is **intoxicating to one not addicted to alcohol** through the use of something stronger and therefore is **prohibited by the 18th Amendment**. If $2\frac{3}{4}\%$ beer is permitted, as a practical matter it will be utterly impossible to enforce prohibition effectively against the stronger beer which will intoxicate even those who have the habit. The brewery, though on American soil, was un-American in spirit. Its record of ruthless brutality and corruption, and of shameless violation of every "restriction" imposed under license and "regulation" proves it a hopeless outlaw.

If beer is allowed to come back, the return of the saloon in some form, whatever it may be called, as a place to sell it IS INEVITABLE. The beer flank attack is supported not only by the thirsty but also by many well-meaning, intelligent people who are being deceived into support of beer nullification of the Constitution by the shrewd liquor suggestion: "The saloon ought to have been banished but the sale of beer should be permitted." Only **increasingly** effective enforcement will avert this grave danger—a danger which will continue until the public has a chance to learn that the prohibition even of beer is necessary.

THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

With all this in view, this manual is based on recognition of the fact that though it may take at least 20 years to clinch prohibition by so educating the public in its benefits as to secure general permanent and willing acceptance of it, yet **if there is reasonable enforcement for five years ultimate victory is certain**. Whether the outlaw traffic shall be so curbed during the next five years that the essential future educational work can be done under reasonably favorable conditions, depends upon adequate organization and activity—and both immediately.

This involves not merely the **retention** of the organization which secured prohibition but its rapid and material **extension** to meet the new educational demands and increased tasks, as even the next five years will not bring assurance of abiding victory unless there is abundant provision to continue the fight so long as need be.

The "YONKERS PLAN" is inaugurated as a five year enforcement program. In carrying it out for

five years the people will have learned enough about how to secure results from their local governmental system to enable them both to continue prohibition enforcement activity as much longer as may be necessary and also to apply to every other local problem the principles of lawful, constructive, direct public action used in working this "PLAN."

CURE INSTEAD OF QUACKERY

It requires far less skill and merit to be a quack than to be a doctor. But the quack delays a cure and may do harm that will make cure impossible. There is no method of community purging that works while the people sleep, nor is there any patent nostrum that can be poured in from outside which will obviate the necessity of complying with the conditions of community health. Any individual or organization that offers to come in from the outside and do for the people of a community the things which are effective only when done by the people for themselves is a quack, trading on public credulity, ignorance and inertia for his or its own profit only. Nothing but the active dominance of the law-abiding people who live in a community, through intelligent, sustained, organized effort, will make and keep it a fit place to live in as respects enforcement of the law. It takes time, effort and skill to unite and train them to work out their own salvation in this way, but any remedy less fundamental and comprehensive than the complete **three-fold** program of (1) enrollment, (2) ordinance, and (3) "YONKERS PLAN," proposed in this manual (see page 76), **will disappoint those who rely upon it.** The "ALLIED CITIZENS" is offered knowing that whatever else may be tried first, resort must ultimately be had to the principles which it embodies.

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS DEFINED

The "'YONKERS PLAN' Committee" is the committee or special organization which supervises the financing and operation of the "YONKERS PLAN." It may be the Law Enforcement Committee of the "ALLIED CITIZENS," which committee in such case should have no other function than to finance and supervise the operation of the "PLAN."

The "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Incorporated to Uphold American Ideals and the United States Constitution," which may be spoken of as the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Inc.," or the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA," or simply the "ALLIED CITIZENS," is a general system of local organization. When used in this manual this name, unless expressly restricted to the general organization or officers, means one of the related local organizations in which citizens are united, without regard to creed or party and without financial membership obligation, for the purpose of creating a "YONKERS PLAN" Committee and pushing its work, and to take care of other phases of enforcement work outside of the "YONKERS PLAN."

A "CITIZENS' ALLIANCE" is a local organization for similar purposes which is based upon and modeled after the "ALLIED CITIZENS," but which has not received authority to use the name "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Inc."

SEVERAL MANUALS IN ONE—TAKE WHAT YOU WANT

Some difficulty, objection or danger actually encountered in practical operation is responsible for everything included in this manual. It is believed that it will best serve every interest to put every-

thing that may be needed or useful in any of the various communities where prohibition enforcement is an issue, into a single publication so arranged that the person who does not want it all can easily find what he wants, with a suggestion of its relation to other points which may be looked into if and as desired.

The person who seeks only the "YONKERS PLAN" will find it as distinct and separate in the first three chapters as though this material were in a separate publication. See note "A Supplemental Pamphlet," at the bottom of this page.

The person who is particularly interested in a comprehensive system of local organization will find it set out in Chapter 4, as distinctly, notwithstanding the inter-relation, as though it were an independent manual.

And Chapter 5 (about the Anti-Saloon League) and "What an Individual Can Do" in the Appendix, are as self-contained as though issued separately.

By this plan, no matter which portion is primarily sought, the other related material, no part of which would have been included if it had not been considered essential to full understanding and the most effective use of every other part, is thus available for reference, or when needed, in the cheapest and most convenient form possible.

PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT THE KEY TO LAW AND ORDER GENERALLY

Lack of respect for law is America's greatest present menace. The underlying moral factor in the prohibition law offers a unique opportunity to enlist organized moral constituencies and arouse militant moral conviction in behalf of law and order to a degree impossible on any other basis. In the struggle to vindicate this particular law, it will be necessary to teach the public so much of the fundamentals as to the need of upholding all law that when the prohibition enforcement fight is won it will be found that the thought and action of the whole Nation have been lifted to a higher plane as respects the sanctity of law generally.

NOTE:—A SUPPLEMENTAL PAMPHLET

"WHAT WAS SAID AND DONE IN YONKERS"

A supplemental pamphlet which contains, with comment, the full text of most of the statements given to the public in Yonkers, has been prepared for the use of those who, while they may not wish to copy any of it verbatim, desire to read the exact language actually used by some responsible person in dealing with conditions and officials in a given locality.

It was not expedient to increase the size of this manual which is to be read by the citizens generally in each community. It is complete in itself and contains everything needed for its purpose. Neither was it wise to displace anything of general suggestion in order to insert material which, however interesting, is actually NEEDED mainly by leaders and committees responsible for carrying out the "PLAN." Because of its limited circulation the supplemental pamphlet is necessarily more expensive in proportion to its size than this manual.

WHERE IT IS REQUESTED, one complimentary copy of the special pamphlet, "WHAT WAS SAID AND DONE IN YONKERS," for the use of the Secretary or members of the "YONKERS PLAN" Committee, will be included with each 100 copies of the manual ordered for community use. Others who wish it can secure it by itself for 20 cents a single copy postpaid, or 15 cents a copy for 10 or more, postpaid, or 12 cents a copy in lots of 50 or more, carriage not paid, cash to accompany order in every case, from William H. Anderson, 16th Floor, 906 Broadway, New York City.

Chapter 2

STARTING AND PUSHING THE "YONKERS PLAN"

(1) WHAT TO DO, WHEN, AND HOW

NOTE: It will not be safe to attempt to carry out any of the specific suggestions of this chapter without having read the governing qualifications contained in the first few paragraphs of Chapter 1 as to the conditions under which this "PLAN" is recommended.

TWO FACTORS ARE INDISPENSABLE

There can be no **permanent** enforcement of law except through the regular channels of local self-government by the officials charged by law with enforcement responsibility.

To attain this, two factors are indispensable: (1) The support of enforcement by a majority of the active contributors to local public sentiment; and (2) continuous public knowledge of the exact facts as to the degree of local enforcement, so that sentiment may operate intelligently.

If a small group of persons, or even one person, will work the suggestions which follow, they or he can compel the ultimate development of adequate sentiment in any community. But there is needed both vision and common sense, and the courage and firmness to hold to essentials despite the advice, objection or importunity of the well-meaning who think loosely and are blind to experience, or those who have political, financial or personal ends to serve. Unless ready to see it through in this way it is better not to start.

WHAT IT TAKES TO WIN

To insure the largest measure of success there is needed ability to see prohibition as salvation from the worst physical and moral tyranny that ever cursed humanity; sympathy broad enough to feel the blight of those women and children and enslaved men who, through nullification, are robbed of the benefits of prohibition; patriotism enough to realize that any disregard of law is a menace to the Nation; faith that right will triumph if the human element does its part.

There must be a sense of the primary obligation of citizens to obey and uphold law. There must be the stability to keep at it; the self-sacrifice which invests time freely, and money according to ability and need, even more than one's fair share. There is needed that open-eyed resolution which leads one to expect, but not be unnerved by, the tardiness of public response; the patience which recognizes that though a year may be agonizingly long to one who wants immediate relief, it is, after all, very short when measured by the magnitude of the task and the inevitable sloth of human progress.

There must be enough reasonableness and sense of proportion to comprehend that complete cure cannot be achieved at once; that delay and difficulty compel that wisdom and thoroughness which are the guarantees of ultimate permanence; that undue

emphasis upon minor matters delays solution of important issues; and that even moderate, lasting improvement, after an appreciable period of sustained effort, is genuine success and calls for renewed consecration and further endeavor.

There must also be appreciation of the fact that though organization enables effective use of existing sentiment, organization does not of itself **create** sentiment. Sentiment is made by bringing people face-to-face with facts.

WHO CAN START IT—AND HOW?

The greatest efficiency will be secured in any locality if, on a showing of sufficient local interest, the Anti-Saloon League of the State will suggest and promote the "YONKERS PLAN" through the local branch of the system of local organization approved by the State League, or will encourage the starting of such a local organization to launch and carry out the "PLAN."

With such help, or, locally, through an organization such as the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" fully explained in Chapter 4, any group of earnest, responsible people who will invest a little money and a great deal of effort can make the "YONKERS PLAN" work. If necessary it can even be done without one of the so-called "leading" men of the community. Such a group can carry it through to success if they comply with the conditions, **and run it on a public basis and not as their private asset or plaything.**

The "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" itself, where already organized, or any equivalent organization, can use the "YONKERS PLAN" as its specific enforcement program. Or a local "Division" of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" may be started on local initiative to inaugurate and push the "PLAN." In the long run, promotion by a local organization which will also cover the things not included in the "PLAN," but which are essential, will prove wiser than an attempt to launch the "PLAN" without provision to take care of the other aspects of the problem of local enforcement. Therefore, we shall consider the question of initiative as applied to either the "ALLIED CITIZENS" or the "PLAN," or to one for the definite purpose of starting the other.

A FEW OR ONE CAN BEGIN

A group of pastors can initiate it, or ask a few men and women from the churches to do so. **This method will work to advantage only where the pastors work together.** It would not be wise for one pastor or a clique of pastors to try it in the exceptional case where there is any serious lack of working church co-operation.

If effort for concerted action fails to succeed, then, even ONE church in a community can compel every church eventually to get into line provided it undertakes, not itself to enforce the law against the officials and the seeming sentiment of the community, but merely to discharge its full responsibility toward securing and continuously exposing the facts and demanding honest, efficient, official action.

Even ONE PERSON in one church, either the pastor or a lay member, with the right spirit—not hate of law violators but love for their victims—can, if he or she gets the vision and has a consuming sense of responsibility and an unquenchable desire for the enforcement of prohibition, stimulate his or her own church to act, and through it eventually marshal the community.

THIS MANUAL THE LEVER

The one person in a single church need not necessarily be a recognized leader in the business, civic, social or religious life of the community, or even a public speaker. The most modest and retiring individual can set in motion such a miracle by even so quiet and unostentatious a beginning as the securing of 100 or 200 copies of this prohibition enforcement manual, or more as may be required, and putting one into the hands of the pastor and of every substantial man and woman in the church, accompanying each copy with a personal word respecting unescapable obligation to do everything possible to uphold the law, and a statement that this book shows the way. It is important that a promise to read the manual through carefully be obtained. Those who promise should later be confronted with the courteous but frank and inexorable question: **"Will you help start and support this sort of work in this community?"**

When sufficient interest has been aroused and enough citizens are pledged to insure a respectable beginning, a meeting of the congregation should be called and carefully worked up to insure a representative attendance, for the adoption of proper resolutions and the securing of publicity which will inform the other churches. Committees from the initiating church can then take up the matter with the pastor and leading men and women of each of the other churches, until in each church a committee is named to circulate this manual among and canvass its own members in the same manner. In the meantime a like campaign of education as to the enforcement methods to be used should be spread outside of the co-operating churches to other citizens of the community, including all of the most prominent, influential members of those churches which, as churches, do not co-operate. By this time the situation will be ripe for formal organization.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETIES MAY AGITATE

Enforcement according to this "PLAN" offers a peculiar opportunity to church young people's societies such as the Epworth League of the Methodist Churches, the Society of Christian Endeavor with its membership in churches of many denominations, and the Baptist Young People's Union, and also to the young men and women in the Sunday Schools of churches that have no young people's society. Young people are practical and forthright in their mental reactions and the application of them. It is possible for a single young people's society to move a whole community with the leverage of the law and the fulcrum of this simple, workable "PLAN," worked with the dynamic power of vital religion.

Any such society can solicit, earn or contribute the money for enough copies of this enforcement manual to give one copy, first, to one member in every family represented in the society, securing the promise that it will be read immediately and turned over, with the proper request about reading, to each other adult member of the family; and, second, to the head of every family in the church which is not represented in the young people's society—following it up, and asking after the reading: **"Will YOU help do this HERE?"**

A young people's society blessed with peculiarly wise, mature officers might possibly even furnish ultimate leadership for a community both in the

inauguration and consummation of the "YONKERS PLAN," and a material part of the leadership in a local branch of the "ALLIED CITIZENS."

In practically every case, however, a young people's society will strengthen its position in its own church and in the community if it says: "We are not seeking leadership for ourselves, **but we wish something done and intend to push until somebody fully qualified assumes leadership.** When our elders take hold we will gladly serve under them and distribute manuals and other literature, help canvass the community, or do anything else we can. All we want is action."

ENFORCEMENT THE PECULIAR OBLIGATION AND OPPORTUNITY OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF AMERICA

The generation passing, and about to pass, put prohibition into the Constitution, where normal conscience and character, **in action**, can hold it forever. The next stage,—enforcement,—discharge of the obligation to hold the heritage won for them, protecting it from waste and destruction before the time of fullest development and possible enjoyment, is peculiarly up to the young people of America. Enforcement is also their opportunity to make their future safe. They could not escape the responsibility if they would, because **at best** it will take a generation to destroy the liquor traffic's "will to come back," and eliminate, naturally and therefore permanently, the alcohol taint responsible for the appetite which encourages the vicious and greedy to risk violating the law. If prohibition is enforced it is the children of today's "young people" that will grow up safe from the menace of liquor blight: the moral and material gain will be **THEIRS**. The young people of this nation can settle their own liquor question most easily and most cheaply by throwing themselves **now** into the movement for enforcement, under the direction of the **veterans of the Revolution Against King Alcohol**, who will deem it a privilege to help train the leadership of the future. This will not be done unless, among the young people, the lead is taken by those in the churches who are organized to promote moral, civic and social programs which not only profess allegiance to Christ's law of Love, but strike at the heart of specific evils which defy that law.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS CAN TAKE THE INITIATIVE

Women, greatest sufferers from the liquor traffic, largely denied the most effective participation in the long struggle to outlaw it, can clinch the victory so greatly due to their influence by full participation in the work necessary to insure enforcement. Now that they have the vote on an equality with men, women's organizations may well take the lead in a community movement to enlist the men also for law enforcement. A local Woman's Christian Temperance Union, "Women's Club" or "Federation of Clubs," or a "League of Women Voters," or its equivalent, or other women's organization of civic character, may properly and profitably start the "YONKERS PLAN," provided it is started as a **citizens'** and not as a **woman's** movement. It can also take steps to promote a local division of the "ALLIED CITIZENS," which was the first civic organization of national scope to anticipate the full change of status and make provision for enrolling women with **men** on the single basis of **CITIZENSHIP**.

PICKING THE EXECUTIVE

The personality, standing and qualifications of the individual or individuals or group who take the lead, once the work is set going, will determine the initial impact of the campaign and the carrying and convincing power of what is said during its progress.

Even though a group starts the "PLAN," in the last analysis some ONE person must become the executive representative and be responsible for initiative in many particulars, even though he counsels largely with his immediate associates.

The best leader is the one who will best do the work. If that be a minister in a particular community, he should be chosen. Prominence, business connections, general community influence are all fine, but often have their hampering influences.

It is better to have a person of no special prominence who will BECOME prominent by making good than to have some prominent individual of the "honorary pall-bearer" class who will fall down or lie down on the job.

Put no one to the front who has wantonly attacked, or has been prominent in any movement that is notoriously fighting any church, racial group, or any reputable organized body of citizens which may reasonably be expected to stand for law enforcement.

If a lawyer has the real crusading spirit his legal knowledge will be a help. If he does not, it will only make him the more vexatious an obstructionist.

Whether a man was originally for prohibition has nothing to do with the enforcement issue, and sincere support for enforcement should be sought and accepted wherever it can be found. For actual **leadership**, however, it would be unwise and unsafe to choose any person who was not for prohibition originally or who has not been thoroughly converted by its results. A man who has the other qualifications for leadership will instinctively recognize the impropriety of his accepting it unless he is in fact a believer in prohibition. Ordinarily a person who sets out to secure leadership in such an effort should be regarded with suspicion.

But nobody should be made leader who has become publicly discounted as a crank, a joke or a bore. There are too many men and women of the highest type in favor of prohibition to have either prohibition or enforcement discredited by any cantankerous individual, incapable of team work, whose SOLE qualification is the fact that he is and has been against the liquor traffic.

STARTING THE ACTUAL OPERATION

Assuming the existence of enough enforcement sentiment with which to start, and (1) that the preliminary community work suggested above has been done, a "YONKERS PLAN" Finance Committee named and money raised, or (2) at least a small central group of three or five who have read this manual, one or more of whom are able and willing to underwrite and advance when needed, or preferably to contribute outright, several hundred dollars for initial expenses, then the one charged with executive responsibility should at once secure investigators and begin operation.

HIRING DETECTIVES

Private detectives are necessary wherever dependable local parties are not willing (or able) to get evidence and willing to make affidavits. Only the criminal, the demagogue or the unthinking ob-

jects to the obtaining of proper information in a proper way. In nearly every state the Anti-Saloon League can recommend some agency which has been found reliable. But since even a reliable agency may be betrayed by its own operatives, the Anti-Saloon League makes clear that it assumes no responsibility whatever except good faith in its recommendation and the use of its good offices to secure justice between an agency and a community if adjustment becomes necessary. The LOCAL organization or "YONKERS PLAN" Committee which employs the detectives must protect itself by seeing that they do their work and that they have turned over their evidence, if any, before paying them.

The employment of any detective on the basis that he is to receive no pay unless he obtains evidence, will vitiate his evidence. It would be worth nothing even for "YONKERS PLAN" uses. The average reputable licensed detective agency will undertake to give honest returns for the money paid for the per diem and expenses of its operatives and to give straightforward, intelligent, usable written reports. Detectives are particularly pleased with the "YONKERS PLAN" because, while they must make affidavits and be ready to testify on necessity, the nature of the "YONKERS PLAN" relieves them from much unpleasantness. It is obviously distasteful to a self-respecting man to be bully-ragged in court by shyster attorneys merely because he has secured evidence to help stop the violation of law.

There should be a distinct understanding when the detectives are employed that no settlement will be made until their reports are submitted in affidavit form. **Make it clear that this does not mean that payment is to be dependent upon their securing evidence as a basis for affidavits, BUT UPON THEIR MAKING A STATEMENT, in sworn form, of whatever evidence is secured, if any.** Also give them to understand that under no circumstances are they to feign illness or injury as a means of securing liquor. What is wanted is evidence of sales such as are made to ordinary drinkers. Securing liquor by pretense to be anything else than a thirsty individual with the price who wants it to drink, will react unfavorably upon those responsible.

A detective can usually get evidence if conditions are bad unless somebody has "leaked" that he is on the ground. If conditions are good, it is part of the "PLAN" to find out that fact.

There is always a chance that a detective may sell out to the other side and report he cannot get anything; but if circumstances are obviously suspicious most reputable agencies will send another man at their own expense to check up. Different agencies may be used to check against each other. A man may be employed from each of two agencies without either knowing the other is employed.

GUARDING THEIR USEFULNESS

It is not only not necessary to publish the names of the investigators, but it will be well to make it a rule not to publish them. This will make it far easier to obtain the help of local citizens who are not detectives but who may volunteer as a matter of civic and patriotic service. It is sufficient to have the affidavits signed and sworn to in the regular way at some place outside of the locality, or else by a notary public who is one of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" or on the "YONKERS PLAN" Committee. In the copies for publication, in place of the signatures, use the words "Signed original in possession

of (here give the name of the Secretary or active member of the Committee)" and then the usual "Subscribed and Sworn to," etc., with the name of the notary public and the date of the acknowledgment. This keeps satisfactory detectives available for future work and saves local volunteers from unnecessary unpleasantness.

Only one person should deal with the detectives, or know when they are coming, or that they are at work. This person should be accessible all the time the detectives are busy, so that if they desire to check up or receive advice on some question they can do so without exposing themselves.

LIGHT ON OFFICIAL CONNIVANCE

If the investigators can get any of the dive-keepers to talk about how they are able to operate in violation of the law, any hint from them that they are "in right" or "pay to be taken care of" or that the mayor, or head of the police force, or some local political boss is their "friend" and sees that they are not molested, affidavits covering such conversation will be most useful for stirring the public and focusing attention on the failure of enforcement and also upon those who are responsible. Facts respecting gambling and immorality in connection with liquor selling help arouse the indignation of decent citizens. See note, "A Supplemental Pamphlet," at the bottom of page 14.

As a general rule there should be as little preliminary publicity as possible about any phase of the "PLAN" or even the mere fact that it is seriously contemplated, even though the newspapers know something is doing and are hot on the trail. Keep the plans quiet until after the first lot of evidence is **secured**. After that the publicity should be kept going vigorously until the fund for the support of the "PLAN" is completed, and the papers can be told all they want to know that will not block the operation of the work by premature publication of some specific move.

REPUDIATE PESTIFEROUS ACTIVITY AND EXPOSE CONSPIRACY TO DISCREDIT ENFORCEMENT

A "YONKERS PLAN" Committee should be sane as well as earnest in the matter of evidence. It will merely make itself ridiculous to accept and publish, as serious, evidence of pocket and grip-sack toting of personal flasks, and home brewing solely for home use, if a large-scale illicit traffic is running openly. The home brew question and sporadic personal drinking will largely mitigate themselves by the time smuggling, bootlegging, big illegal manufacture, permit frauds, etc., are effectively hedged up. But it is the Constitution that is sacred—not crime against it. The Fourth Amendment guarantees protection only against "**unreasonable**" searches.

Whatever becomes necessary in order to prevent the breakdown of the law, the public will eventually demand: but petty annoyances and pestiferous activity against persons who are doing nothing more than cater to their own individual thirst, while big violators and crooked officials, getting rich from extensive deals or frauds, are unmolested, will alienate public sympathy, and might lead to unthinking "reaction" against the whole prohibition policy on the part of those who do not realize that this is the deliberate design back of most unlawful "enforcement" activity by wet officials.

If investigation shows that enforcement officials

are doing unlawful things, such as searching homes without warrants, or searching persons and baggage without such probable cause as would justify detention and investigation in other cases, and are doing so either (1) deliberately to discredit the law, or (2) for blackmail purposes, or (3) as a screen for official complicity in big illicit traffic, that is as important as anything that may be discovered, and should be published to block the conspiracy to bring the law into disrepute.

EVIDENCE FOR PUBLIC ONLY

The first thing that every "YONKERS PLAN" Committee must decide after the "PLAN" is once adopted, following decision that the emergency which calls for it has arisen, is whether it will profit by experience and follow the "PLAN" or indulge the luxury of making mistakes at the expense of the community and the cause they want to advance.

The vital distinction between the "YONKERS PLAN" and all those methods which result in local law-enforcement failures is that **UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES** will a "YONKERS PLAN" Committee turn over its evidence secured at the expense of its fund to any public official for use in any prosecution or legal proceeding. To modify the "PLAN" at this point is to **DESTROY** it. Attempts to operate something else under that name will be repudiated on notice, and as vigorously as necessary.

Intelligent action depends upon constant recognition of the essential fact that the "YONKERS PLAN" is **an emergency remedy**, expressly so limited at the beginning of Chapter 1.

There will be endless pleas and arguments, both political and personal, to modify or at least "shade" the "PLAN," but there need be no difficulty in holding firm if the reasons why volunteer activity has become necessary are kept in mind. Whether officers charged with the enforcement of law are doing their duty is of more importance to the public than to make a case against any particular law-breaker. It is infinitely more important to stop violation of the law than to convict a few out of many violators.

A "YONKERS PLAN" Committee is born of a suspicion, based on conditions so notoriously bad as to overcome the natural presumption to which officials are entitled, **that there is official corruption or wilful neglect.** The reason for its existence is to give the facts to the public. It secures support on the strength of that pledge. **When it obtains evidence of official neglect or worse, it is treason to good government and a violation of good faith to withhold that evidence from the public.** While it is the duty of every citizen to support public officials and, under ordinary circumstances, to give to prosecuting officers and stand ready to give in court any direct evidence he happens upon personally, as a citizen, yet when conditions become so bad that the preliminary co-operation of citizens with officials prescribed at the beginning of Chapter 1 fails to secure satisfactory results, and it becomes necessary for citizens to volunteer to turn the light on such officials, **then the first duty of such volunteers is NOT TO RECREANT OFFICIALS BUT TO THE PEOPLE.** The people not only have a right, but it is their duty to know the degree and character of enforcement they are getting from their officials in return for their taxes. Further explicit advice about dealing with officials will be found in the next chapter of this manual entitled "What Not To Do, and Why."

PUBLICITY THE POWER

The supreme and ultimate object of the **"YONKERS PLAN"** is to secure not **"enforcement of,"** but **OBEDIENCE TO law**. No law is safe till the general public so accepts it as to **obey** it willingly. No nation is safe till its citizens generally recognize the reason for and need of **obedience** to all law. Special effort to **enforce** law is not a normal, but a **strictly emergency activity**. Such effort is temporarily necessary, particularly where there have been special attempts to discredit a law, in order to protect the instinctively law-abiding against the inherently vicious and lawless, until general public sentiment is stimulated to cope with a particular nullification menace.

Like the caterpillar tractor which lays its own track and then runs on it, this **"PLAN"** creates whatever law enforcement sentiment is needed in a community and then utilizes it. Public sentiment alone gives it its power. The necessary sentiment can be created, crystallized, and directed only through publicity. If a recreant public official can get a **"YONKERS PLAN"** Committee to turn their evidence over to him instead of giving it to the public while it is fresh and has **"news"** value, he has robbed them of their only weapons against him and can laugh at their stupid gullibility.

Evidence material should be carefully arranged, and embodied in pungent statements for publication which make it plain that somebody is responsible for the conditions revealed. If the Committee keeps the spotlight on those responsible any situation will **"crack"** in due time regardless of whether the officials talk back, or are silently defiant.

Particular care should be exercised in these public statements to say nothing actionable. Any expert Anti-Saloon League worker should be able to advise. In many communities a sympathetic lawyer of good professional attainments will cheerfully give an opinion as to whether a statement is safe.

INTERPRET FACTS BUT DO NOT SUPPRESS THEM

Some officials are co-conspirators and therefore criminals themselves. Others are criminally antagonistic. If a public official, though not vicious, allows himself to be muzzled to protect corrupt political bosses above him, or corrupt subordinates below him, he becomes in fact a party to what goes on and is not entitled to protection. Neither is he entitled to it if he is incompetent or seeks to protect incompetents.

No person who is so tied to any official that he desires to keep from the public the truth to which it is entitled is fit to be connected with the **"YONKERS PLAN"** Committee in any respect where he can influence the securing or giving out of evidence. A volunteer representative of the people who suppresses facts in order to protect an official who neglects or refuses to do his duty is just as dishonest as the official.

This does not mean that the statements accompanying the evidence given out must attack or reflect upon the integrity of any official who is unquestionably honest and earnest. **Judgment, intelligence and fairness are as necessary as frankness**. In some cases it may be wise to let the facts speak for themselves—merely say **"This is what was found,"** and let the public draw its own inference and the officials make their own statements. The chances are that something will come out of it that will guide future activity.

If some official has apparently been trying to do

his duty while others have hampered him, **he is entitled to publication of the facts** so that the public can bring pressure on the others. If he was only APPARENTLY trying, but really bluffing, publication of the facts will ultimately bring out that fact, and those who sought to shield him from the truth will be discredited.

APPLIES TO FEDERAL OFFICIALS ALSO

Everything said in this manual about state and local officials applies to **Federal officials** responsible for the enforcement of the Federal law in a particular locality. The "YONKERS PLAN" is equally useful in informing the public as to **their** dereliction, or making sentiment in support of **their** honest, effective efforts.

AS TO NOTIFYING OFFICIALS

The matter of dealing with officials, before there is any decision to adopt the "PLAN" at all, is disposed of in the first pages of Chapter 1. The fact that prior to decision (see Page 66), due admonition was given, which fact should be included in the initial publicity under the "PLAN," will disprove any claim that the officials were not treated fairly, and defeat any effort to arouse prejudice against enforcement on that ground.

Since a "YONKERS PLAN" Committee is formed for the primary purpose of finding out, for the public, what the customary degree of enforcement is, it follows that for it to send notice just prior to investigation by special detectives after the officials have failed to profit by previous notice, is not only not required in fairness, but it would interfere with the object of the "PLAN" by producing temporarily abnormal conditions. Such a temporary change would not be a cure, **but it would delay a cure** by making it impossible for a while to ascertain the regular level of enforcement, which knowledge is essential to intelligent public action.

THE PEOPLE HAVE RIGHTS

Government exists for the people—not for any political group or for any public official. The people have a RIGHT to the facts as to what is being done in or by THEIR government on a question that concerns THEM. It is not necessary to try to brand or convict any official. The facts will take care of that. If guilty he will brand or convict himself by his behavior in the face of the facts. If honest and competent the facts will vindicate him. Public welfare cannot be left at the mercy of either his inability to comprehend this fact or his unwillingness to let the public have the truth.

The only safe thing to do with facts belonging to the public is to PUBLISH them. Tampering with and suppressing them are both dangerous and either, if done after the "YONKERS PLAN" is launched, would constitute breach of faith. In the long run either will defeat the local movement even if it escapes wreck at an early stage. While every effort should be made to avoid injustice to any official and every courtesy should be extended **that does not defeat the purpose of the movement**, the friendship of any official is purchased at too great a cost if at the expense of deceiving the public by suppression of the truth in any field whatever.

There will inevitably be clamor and accusation that there is some ulterior or political motive behind the "PLAN." Such an accusation cannot possibly be disproved if any official is shielded from publi-

cation of the facts, or the "YONKERS PLAN" is compromised by any political activity under its name. And unless the charge of political motive or control is **conclusively** negated, the opportunity to enlist every element that favors law enforcement will be lost, and the "PLAN" partly defeated before it starts.

NOTHING ELSE HAS PROVED SAFE

The reason for the above explicit, apparently arbitrary advice, which is in no respect inconsistent with previous suggestions covering the **preliminary** stages, that under no circumstances shall a "YONKERS PLAN" Committee parley with officials, or give them any notice after actually beginning operations, or in their behalf withhold from publication either permanently or for a limited time any part of information gathered under the "PLAN," is fundamental.

The question of whether local officials are conscientious and are doing their best, that is, whether they are entitled to any special consideration, is itself an issue of fact of sufficient importance and divisive possibilities to wreck the whole local movement. **It cannot possibly be decided free from political and personal considerations.** Even if it could, **that fact could not be proved.** The difficulty is inherent in the fact that no person can possibly KNOW whether the officials are doing their best, and when it comes to opinions one opinion is as good as another.

Therefore, the only safe, intelligent way to start this work, **after the community has decided it is necessary**, is on a basis that avoids at the outset a weighing of probabilities, a scrutiny of motives, and a delicacy of negotiation that might embarrass the most seasoned of experts, and is practically certain to split an unseasoned group of volunteer citizens, no matter how earnest and sincere. It will be utterly impossible anywhere to withhold publication of the facts, or a part of them, without criticism from some quarter. On the other hand, if the facts which belong to the public are all published promptly then there is no possible legitimate ground for criticism. **That is the very reason why some officials with desire to side-track or ruin the movement will raise such desperate objection to a policy which they are shrewd enough to realize is invulnerable.** That is why there can be NO FLEXIBILITY WHATEVER on this point. The "YONKERS PLAN" hinges here. Anything else is not the "YONKERS PLAN."

No community is being importuned to take up the "YONKERS PLAN." It is merely offered to those that want it, with interpretation and suggestion based upon working experience. Any community has a right to ignore or reject it, or a right to adopt any other plan that it wishes. But no community has a right to adopt something else or mutilate the "YONKERS PLAN" into a resemblance to the lamentable failures that have retarded the advancement of prohibition for fifty years, and then call it the "YONKERS PLAN."

INFORMATION THAT CAN BE GIVEN THE OFFICIALS

The operation of the "YONKERS PLAN" may bring in a flood of letters, some of them signed and some of them anonymous, containing alleged information of alleged violations of the liquor law, some of which will be valuable, some of which will be mere gossip and rumor, and some of which will be prompted by spite. Any information of direct value to the carrying

out of the "PLAN" should be utilized, as, for example, by listing names and addresses which can be looked up by the detectives next employed by the Committee. Then this material should all be turned over to the local division of the "ALLIED CITIZENS," whose officers can with perfect propriety, at any time, provided they keep secret the identity of informants who are honest enough to sign their names, and provided they are careful to state explicitly that they assume no responsibility, but merely offer it "as is," give such correspondence or the substance of the same to the local officials as a basis for their efforts to secure evidence that will warrant arrests and get convictions.

If things so communicated leak out, and if no arrests are made, such facts can be used to strengthen the public-sentiment case against the officials, without having run the risk incident to departure from the "PLAN" or having caused a miscarriage of "PLAN" activity.

PUBLICITY AND FUNDS CLOSELY RELATED

Publicity and funds are closely related in the "YONKERS PLAN." If effective publicity can be had, funds will come. On the other hand if funds are in hand to do the work, results can be secured that will insure effective publicity. And publicity IS INDISPENSABLE to the creation of sentiment.

Supposing a "YONKERS PLAN" Committee to have been created and the first investigation made, publicity comes next in an effort so to use the evidence obtained as to arouse the community and prepare for a canvass for funds to make the "PLAN" permanent. The mere fact that local citizens have united their efforts to bring about enforcement of law is "news" and every step thereafter has inherent publicity opportunities.

Public meetings as a part of the publicity necessary in a local movement are useful in their effect upon those who attend, entirely apart from what the newspapers carry by way of report for the benefit of the general public.

APPROACHING NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers should be approached frankly and confidently and tactfully with the assumption that they stand for enforcement of law. Most newspapers, including those which were and are opposed to prohibition, stand for its enforcement while, and because, it is a law. Most editors honestly want enforcement. Many of them have been converted to prohibition by the even imperfect results so far. A few irreconcilables think enforcement will hasten repeal or modification.

The responsible head of every local paper—the man who controls its policy and determines what it prints—should be seen, each on the same date, and talked with respecting the launching of the "PLAN" after obtaining but before publishing the first evidence. It should be made clear to them that the "PLAN" Committee asks no favors but merely a square deal and the publication of the actual news. Then the "PLAN" Committee must make its offerings truly news.

Then also see each editor, where he is not the owner, and tell him what publicity is contemplated. The "PLAN" should be explained briefly and three copies of this manual (one with cloth cover for the reference file, the others in paper backs to be cut and "pasted up" by the reporter) should be left with pages turned down at the parts which explain what the "YONKERS PLAN" is and just what it proposes to do. Ask no editor to carry any burden beyond what he ought to do as a good citizen toward giving the benefit of the doubt to a local movement to enforce law.

TREAT THEM ALIKE

Treat all papers with absolute fairness, and treat them all alike until their own tactics compel the Committee to differentiate. Give them all, at the same time, material for a general story about the "YONKERS PLAN" and the names of the citizens back of it. If most of the papers or the most widely read ones are morning papers, the matter may be given out so that they can handle it first,—or vice versa. Of course one class of papers will have to lose the first chance to use it. The number of readers reached and the way in which the material will be played up are legitimate factors in determining which class of papers shall have the first chance. The treatment which the preliminary story receives may help determine the choice as to which set of papers shall have the preference later when giving out the evidence.

Do not expect too much to be printed at once. An opening statement about the "YONKERS PLAN," with the copies of this "PLAN" manual from which each paper may work up its own story as it desires, should be supplied first. Then some of the affidavits with an accompanying statement should be released for publication. As a third installment prepare a financial article. This should carry the name of the local leaders and an outline of the plan to raise the money needed to make the work of the "PLAN" permanent. It should announce a few large subscriptions if there are any to be announced. Thus there will have been three separate news stories, in logical order. This method will get better treatment from the newspapers and will develop the campaign in an orderly way with the public.

Evidence should not all be published at once, if there is much of it. Two to four of the "hottest" affidavits, if they are long, or four to six if they are short, may be given out in the first installment. The others may be kept for later weekly installments, depending upon the amount and pungency of material available. See note at bottom of Page 14 "What Was Said and Done in Yonkers."

EDITORS WHO ARE FEARFUL OR HOSTILE

To avoid any newspaper's refusal to publish the affidavits on the ground that it would incur the risk of a libel suit, the editor should be told that if he does not feel sufficiently protected by the affidavits and the men behind the movement he can leave out the name and the address of the violator of the law specified in each affidavit if he will publish all the rest of each affidavit and state in general terms the location of each place concerned. In most communities some paper will gladly publish all the facts, including names.

If an editor insists that advertising rates be paid for the sort of publicity outlined, that issue might just as well be promptly fought out with him. Such a policy would impose so great a financial burden upon any local organization as to constitute a de facto effort to keep the people from learning the truth. A story of actual conditions as respects the enforcement of law in any community, particularly if it indicates the incompetence or indifference, or worse, of local officials, is "NEWS." A newspaper which will not publish such evidence except for pay makes itself party to continued nullification of the law. Intelligent editors know that fact and rare indeed is the editor who will intentionally put his paper in that attitude.

If all local editors should combine in refusal to print the facts, that of itself would be an astounding commentary on conditions and a compelling reason for

going through with the job of letting the people know. It may then be necessary to put the evidence out in circular form. These circulars should also announce that the facts were given the newspapers but they refused publication, choosing rather to give tacit support to law-breakers and to defraud the readers to whom they pretend to furnish the news. People should be urged to write the local papers they take and insist on their publishing the facts. A little pulpit thunder on the duty of newspapers not to suppress information will help. Resolutions may well be adopted by civic organizations and church congregations, condemning suppression of the truth as to community conditions.

In those rare cases where local newspapers are so swayed by prejudice or personal or political consideration as to conspire to suppress the facts, the Anti-Saloon League, if asked, can help blast things loose.

OUTSIDE NEWSPAPERS

It will be advisable in most cases to send copies of all publicity material to every newspaper in the county. If there is a large city nearby from which newspapers circulate to some extent in the local community, its papers should be furnished copies of all articles. In every case, however, in which material is sent to outside newspapers, it should be timed, and marked with a definite release date, including the hour, and accompanied by a letter calling attention to the release-hour, so that no outside paper can carry it back into the community before local papers have a chance to put it out.

If investigation discloses bad conditions about the same time some public official is endeavoring to convince the public that everything is as it should be, that constitutes **big** news except to papers so hide-bound that they are unwilling to print anything which seems to reflect on an official elected by their party.

It is obvious that "YONKERS PLAN" publicity should be kept altogether distinct from publicity put out by or about the "ALLIED CITIZENS."

"YONKERS PLAN" MONEY

What we shall now say about "YONKERS PLAN" finances will be in general equally applicable whether the bulk of the fund is raised before or after work has been started under the "PLAN." This money should be raised for **local** use only, for the sole purpose of carrying out the "YONKERS PLAN" of getting and publishing facts about local conditions.

Though this fund is of great local importance it cannot cover anyone's entire responsibility on the prohibition issue. It is intensive concentration on one local phase of the problem of enforcement, but it alone cannot satisfy all the needs of the case. A reading of Chapter 5 on "The Relation of Community Enforcement to State and National Organization" will show how necessary it is that other and vastly wider work yet go on if the will of the American people respecting prohibition is to be maintained, and even the "YONKERS PLAN" itself is to be carried through. It is to be presumed, therefore, that local solicitors will be neither so over-enthusiastic nor so unfair as to promise that any person who contributes to the "YONKERS PLAN" is under no further obligation to help support the Anti-Saloon League or aid other phases of the work in state and nation. Any such obviously gratuitous and unwarrantable promise, when repudiated by the League as it would have to be, would react upon the local movement by raising a question as to its intelligence, or good faith, or both.

Persons who are to solicit for the "PLAN" should have this drilled into them. They should also be in-

structed to make it very clear that there will be no salaries paid out of the "PLAN" fund, even for LOCAL officers. It will help if every solicitor can say that the promoters or Finance Committee have provided for all incidental expenses.

It is self-evident, too, that every solicitor should thoroughly read this manual before starting out, to be able to answer the questions that are sure to arise. It would be well to have a meeting for those who are to raise the money that they may have a chance to ask the questions that occur to them in advance. Every solicitor should also be prepared to say, if the question is raised, that while an Anti-Saloon League worker originated the "PLAN" and the League is backing it, not a cent of the subscription for the carrying on of the "YONKERS PLAN" is to go to the Anti-Saloon League, which will continue to be supported by the voluntary contributions of those who recognize the importance of and are interested in carrying on its general work.

SOLICIT MONEY BY PERSONAL INTERVIEW

Never attempt to raise money for the "YONKERS PLAN" at church services or by a public appeal at a meeting. It will be splendid preparation for the money-raising to announce at such meetings that a canvass is coming and to lay the burden of responsibility on citizens. They need to be impressed with the fact that whatever they subscribe will be a business investment, for the saving in taxes under genuine enforcement will more than pay the cost of the special effort and leave all other financial gains and the moral benefits of prohibition as clear profit.

But many a man will merely drop a dollar in a contribution plate or sign \$5 on a card at a meeting who ought to pledge from \$25 to \$100, and who would do so if two men of his own type and financial ability would call on him and tell him that they have given the larger sum and ask him to do likewise. It is more work to prepare for a personal canvass, but the results will pay large returns on the extra effort.

THE SUM NEEDED

For Yonkers, a city of 100,000, \$5,000 a year for five years was suggested as the **minimum** necessary for reasonably satisfactory results. No second or subsequent year's payment on any subscription is to be called for until the first year's fund has been used. Only the first half of any annual payment on the larger subscriptions is due till actually needed.

In that city, with a start in subscriptions of \$1,000 each from three men, it is hoped greatly to increase the minimum, for the reason that the larger the amount subscribed the greater the deterrent effect upon the criminal element and the stimulative effect upon officials—and the greater the interest on the part of the public, provided the subscription has been general.

Whereas, every cent of a subscription of \$5,000 a year for five years, aggregating \$25,000, might have to be used, the deterrent and stimulative effect of a fund of \$25,000 **per year** for five years would be such that only the first installment would ever be called for and it would probably last beyond the five years and cost less actual money in the long run. However, every subscription must be genuine and every subscriber must expect, if it becomes necessary, to pay every dollar that he subscribes.

The amount of money necessary in different places cannot be estimated solely in proportion to population, for in some respects the smaller the

place the harder it is to get evidence. Proportionately lessening the amount would give a place of 1,000 inhabitants—one per cent. as large as Yonkers—only \$50 a year.

In no community, however small, will less than \$1,000 a year give any reasonable assurance of paying for enough investigation to be efficient. The smaller the community the more difficult it may be to catch a bootlegger, because a stranger is conspicuous and suspicion is more easily aroused.

The following is a table of suggested **minimum ANNUAL** amounts for indicated communities:

Population	Amount Per Year for Five Years
5,000 to 10,000.....	\$2,000 per year
10,000 to 20,000.....	2,500 per year
20,000 to 30,000.....	3,000 per year
30,000 to 50,000.....	4,000 per year
50,000 to 100,000.....	5,000 per year
200,000 to 500,000.....	\$10,000 to \$25,000 per year

COUNTY "PLAN" FOR SMALL PLACES

In most communities which cannot raise a subscription of \$1,000 a year the work would better be done on a county-unit basis, involving the raising of a fund for an entire county, outside of certain incorporated cities and villages which may be doing their own work. If there is not as yet sufficient interest to enable a county use of the "PLAN," a group of rural towns comprising a definite section of a county can be grouped together and the "PLAN" inaugurated for them all, in common. The county idea is very much better, however, as it comprises a definite and complete political division which is a distinct enforcement unit.

THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

In the absence of special circumstances which prevent it, the best results will be accomplished by completing the Finance Committee first because the publicity put out will have more weight if there is understood to be a considerable body of prominent citizens behind the movement at the start.

The pastors might well concertedly devote some time, on an agreed-on Sunday morning, to laying the burden of responsibility for such aid on the men before them and so prepare them for whatever calls come to them. An incidental explanation of the "YONKERS PLAN" at a church service outside of Yonkers led a manufacturer to express his willingness to underwrite the entire \$3,000 a year for five years needed by his city.

Through Bible classes and various other groups, volunteers may be secured for whatever individual service may be needed. **But do not DEPEND upon the volunteer method for the creation of financial or other LEADERSHIP.** The men you need and the men who will make things win do not often volunteer. They are busy and usually must be sought and the burden laid upon them.

Women should be considered and used on the Finance Committee, or in any other place, **on exactly the same basis as men.** No woman should be left out because she is a woman nor should standards of service be lowered to include a woman merely because of sex.

The Finance Committee should select a treasurer, whose name should be known to the public in connection with that of the committee. It should also select, or authorize the treasurer to select a bank in which the fund for carrying on the "PLAN" shall be deposited—if possible one whose management is

thoroughly sympathetic and does not carry liquor or bootleg accounts.

THE KNACK OF RAISING MONEY

Three things are essential in securing money for any object. Those who give must be informed. They must be aroused. They must be moved to act. Lawless local conditions stir every decent citizen and, in this case, furnish the arousing factor. Those who solicit subscriptions for the "YONKERS PLAN" are the ones by whom prospective subscribers are to be moved to act. **But neither stirred feelings nor requests, nor both together, will get sufficient money from people who are not informed accurately and fully as to what it is proposed to do to change local conditions.**

"Local law-enforcement" is an old cry. Many have given in the past in support of wrong methods and have suffered thereby in faith and purse. Nothing but a convincing case and a sure understanding of the metes and bounds of the proposed effort will avail with them or with other sensible persons. Furthermore, there is sure to arise, in the carrying out of the "PLAN," more or less clash with officials who are neglecting their duties. Tense moments will come when success and a strict adherence to the "PLAN" will largely **depend on the public's knowledge** of why those carrying on the "PLAN" refuse to yield to certain official pleas for "co-operation" or the turning over of the Committee's evidence for use in the courts. If the Committee knows that the public understands why it cannot accede to these demands it can proceed with boldness, confident of the public's backing all the way.

The author of this manual has been raising money by public appeal and private interview for over twenty years. He has also put pressure on derelict officials and knows how they always seek to drive a wedge between enforcement leaders and the people who should support them. He has written this enforcement manual to meet the known needs and difficulties involved in both tasks. What he advises as to the use of it in preparing the financial solicitation, therefore, is based neither on pride of authorship nor hope of profit, but on scientific knowledge and cold, calculated purpose to meet community enforcement needs. The manual's handy shape, condensed form and limited weight are to make it easily circulated and at a trifling cost. The first basis of giving and doing is knowledge and the aim throughout this document has been to make it the information-medium in enlisting adequate financial and moral backing for the "YONKERS PLAN" in each community that uses it. Its wide local use will produce in local funds multiplied times its cost, and amply prove the wisdom of the whole "PLAN."

INFORM THOSE TO BE SOLICITED

After organizing, the Finance Committee should proceed forthwith to prepare a community canvass for the five-year fund. The first step should be the making of a list of those who ought to subscribe. In a city of 20,000 there should be from 500 to 1,000 names on this list. In a place of 5,000 there may be 250 because smaller places usually have a smaller percentage of aliens and of those who have no interest in community affairs. Those listed will not all be "leaders" and not all "in business," but there is in almost any place at least that proportion of worth-while citizens, including mechanics, sober, industrious, thrifty laboring men, school teachers and

other self-supporting women, who stand for law and order.

These persons should be sent a one-page letter, which can be printed, with the name filled in, preferably with typewriter. The letter, envelope and manual (paper back) will all go, **unsealed**, for two cents. Postage can be saved by sealing the envelopes and having them personally delivered, **not by irresponsible messenger boys**, but by volunteers from Epworth Leagues or Christian Endeavor Societies or the Boy or Girl Scouts, who will agree to hand each letter personally to the person to whom it is addressed or to some person who is known to represent him. The letter should be signed with the names of all of the Finance Committee. It should state in the fewest possible words that the "YONKERS PLAN" explained in the accompanying prohibition enforcement manual is being inaugurated locally, contain an urgent request to read the manual at the earliest possible moment, and close with the statement that **somebody will wait upon the addressee of the letter in the early future to receive his or her assurance of support.**

It is highly important that such calls be made by one or more members of the Finance Committee, or, where that is impossible, by two other representative citizens. Not only money, but friendly cooperation to the end, will in large measure depend upon doing this follow-up personal work thoroughly and tactfully.

COST OF DOING IT MAY BE CONTRIBUTED

Some one may be induced to contribute the cost of the needed number of manuals as a special gift for informing the community. If their cost is not specially contributed, they can be purchased out of the money subscribed by the first underwriters and the Finance Committee. A community which cannot get up a Finance Committee willing to furnish the means for such expenses and the cost of an initial inspection of local conditions need hardly expect to win out in an enforcement campaign.

SUMS TO ASK FOR

The number of communities which have men with enough combined vision and means to equal the contribution of \$5,000 a year for five years for Westchester County, New York (see Appendix), is limited. But many communities have men and women who can and will give \$1,000 a year for five years for such local benefit. There are others who will give \$500 and \$250. Large numbers of men and women can and will give \$100 a year and down to \$100 for the five years, if they are properly approached. The bulk of the money needed must be expected from these larger subscriptions.

Then, though it will take much more effort and will usually not yield nearly so much money, an organized canvass which reaches every person in the community who will subscribe as much as \$10 or \$5 a year, or **even a dollar a year** for five years, will furnish invaluable reinforcement of working sentiment. It should be made clear that every person giving even this nominal sum will be entitled to vote if there is a general meeting of contributors, or a mail referendum, to pass on a question of policy.

Much depends upon securing **an adequate force** of competent canvassers, and thoroughly coaching them for the work of canvassing. The canvass when actually begun should be **completed in a day if possible**, and positively not allowed to drag longer than

a week, except so far as necessary to clean up by seeing those missed at the first attempt.

If the full amount sought is not raised there is nothing to do except go as far as possible with the money that IS raised and use the resultant public education and increase of sentiment in a later drive to complete the fund.

WHEN MONEY SHOULD BE PAYABLE

It would be extremely unwise to ask for subscriptions on a conditional basis. The amount subscribed for the first year (the first half of the first year's subscription in the case of the larger ones), should be payable at once, made available for immediate use and set to work. If a person positively refuses to make a subscription except conditional on raising the entire sum, it should be accepted and used as a leverage for completing the fund in the succeeding canvass if one is necessary.

The fact that the first three big subscriptions secured for Yonkers were conditional does not change this rule. Not one of those subscribers is a present resident of Yonkers and every one was justified in insisting that the people of Yonkers show genuine interest before his money was used to do Yonkers work. But even a resident who subscribes as much as 20% of the total minimum is warranted in insisting that the full sum be raised, and such stipulation as the consideration for such a subscription constitutes no real exception.

Those who canvass should be explicitly charged to press for **five year** subscriptions. Chapter 1 tells why. Of course if any person will subscribe for only one year after the reason for five years is explained, what he offers should be taken, and then he should be re-solicited at the end of each year.

The names of contributors should be published if they do not object. The danger of damage from liquor boycott and black-listing is over. The publication of a representative list of local contributors will have an encouraging effect upon officials, a deterrent effect upon law-breakers, and will set an encouraging example for the general public. The way should be open, however, for persons to contribute confidentially if they desire. A pastor or member of the Finance Committee can take a confidential contribution, secure a receipt in blank from the treasurer for the proper amount, and then fill in the name and send it to the contributor.

EDUCATE BY CANVASS

Soliciting individuals for money is one of the best ways to educate the public with respect to the campaign and its aims, and the reason why the community should back it. It involves telling conditions, the plan for their cure, and what benefits its operation will confer, and it often discloses unexpected friends of the cause.

Local facts, especially those with a human interest, should be compiled for, furnished to and used by the canvassers. Local decrease in arrests, especially for drunkenness, increase in savings deposits, decrease in requests for poor relief and increase in sale of clothing, children's shoes, furniture and home comforts are unanswerable. A well-to-do man reminded of the transformation in one humble home whose occupants he knows, is likely to want to respond to an appeal to keep that and other homes safe.

It is the duty of corporations to protect and promote the welfare of their employees. If wise they will encourage enrollment of the best citizenship, on a moral issue, for the upholding of law, as a bit of civic insurance upon wholesome industrial conditions.

Every church brotherhood, young people's society or other organization of men or women which takes

interest in civic affairs should canvass, through a carefully selected committee, all of its own membership.

The mere canvass, with the inevitable discussion it starts, will itself contribute immeasurably to enforcement of law by arousing sentiment and awakening a general sense of civic responsibility. The education it accomplishes will be worth more than the money it raises. See further pages 59 to 61 respecting the vital importance of a community canvass and the use of the "Civic Service Banner."

The impact upon public sentiment, the jar to the lawless, the stimulus to officials and the encouragement to the law-abiding which come by such a community inventory of sentiment for law, cannot be over-estimated.

SUBSCRIPTION FORMS

Blank cards for subscriptions should be printed locally and may be in the following form:

"To promote enforcement of the law (or "To enforce prohibition") in (name of community) according to the 'YONKERS PLAN,' I hereby subscribe for the use of the local committee organized for that purpose the sum per year indicated by my 'cross' mark (X). This subscription is to continue for five years unless I die or remove, or withdraw it in writing after the first year."

The blank should have a row of figures, each with a little "box" opposite for marking, covering the following amounts: \$1, \$2, \$3, \$5, \$10, \$15, \$20, \$25, \$50, \$100, \$200, \$250, \$500, \$1,000. The Finance Committee, if it prefers, may substitute a blank space for sums smaller than \$5. The card should be 3 by 5 inches for convenient filing, with space for the name, address and date, and also for the church affiliation to facilitate canvass of its own membership by a church committee.

TWO JOBS ON ONE TRIP

The one canvass should be utilized both to raise money for the "YONKERS PLAN" and secure members for the "ALLIED CITIZENS" or other local organization which already exists or is to be formed to take care of other phases of enforcement work and be the local branch of the State-wide system of local organization. This does not mean the taking of an additional money subscription but merely securing also the signature of each solicited person who favors upholding law, to the covenant blank of the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" or the local "CITIZENS ALLIANCE" or whatever is meant to be the local equivalent of the "ALLIED CITIZENS." The need for such an organization locally has already been briefly stated. Full discussion will be found in Chapter 4. This will necessitate each canvasser's having not only subscription blanks for the "YONKERS PLAN" but plenty of covenant enrollment blanks for the "ALLIED CITIZENS" or "CITIZENS ALLIANCE" or whatever the local branch of the general law-enforcement organization is called.

It will help give people a clear idea of the purposes of both phases of enforcement activity—the "PLAN" and the "ALLIED CITIZENS" or equivalent organization—if with each person solicited a leaflet is left on which are printed a brief definition of the "YONKERS PLAN" and the covenant and purposes of the "ALLIED CITIZENS." Copies of the standard "ALLIED CITIZENS" leaflet and covenant blanks may be had from the general office in New York City. If outside of New York State, and the local organization is to be called by some other name, the leaflet and covenant blanks must be printed locally or obtained from a headquarters in that State.

FORM FOR LOCAL LEAFLET

Such local leaflet should be as short and compact as possible. If made 6 x 3½ inches it will go without folding into a 6¾ ordinary business envelope. It should be printed on both sides in 8 point (this size) type, with the definition of the "PLAN," the "covenant" and the "Note" at the end in 6 point (see below) **black face** type. Four pages of the same size, with larger type, will be more attractive.

The following form is suggested where the local organization is not an "ALLIED CITIZENS" division, the head to be one line in good strong 14 to 18 point black type:

THE "YONKERS PLAN"

The "YONKERS PLAN" for Prohibition Enforcement will be started in (name of community). It is officially defined, in contrast with old unsuccessful methods as follows:

(Here insert the first two paragraphs which appear under the heading "'YONKERS PLAN' Defined," at the bottom of page 6 near the beginning of Chapter I.)

It will be necessary to raise (here insert the sum which has been agreed upon locally) per year for five years in this community to insure reasonable prospect of success in carrying out this "PLAN." This money will be kept in a local bank subject to the order of a local treasurer, and spent for work in this locality. A contribution of an amount per year for five years which represents your idea of the importance of regard for law and your willingness to help secure it, is needed and requested.

To supplement the "YONKERS PLAN" by doing those things which cannot be done by or through the "PLAN," especially to bring about the re-nomination and re-election of faithful enforcement officials and repudiation of the other kind, a "CITIZENS ALLIANCE of (here insert name of the community)" is to be organized.

Any man or woman citizen of voting age, regardless of creed or party, who signs the following covenant:

(Here insert covenant of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" found on page 54, with substitution of the name "CITIZENS ALLIANCE" and name of the community, for the "ALLIED Citizens name.)

will become an active member until death or withdrawal. Signing this covenant does not bind the signer to pay any money to support the "CITIZENS ALLIANCE," but constitutes an enrollment of those who are willing to stand for the enforcement of law and stands as encouragement to honest, faithful enforcement officials and the law-abiding majority of the citizenship, and as a rebuke to the other sort.

If YOU favor law enforcement in (here insert the name of the community) and are willing, on the simple broad basis of CITIZENSHIP, to help do something to secure it, obtain a "YONKERS PLAN" subscription blank and a "CITIZENS ALLIANCE" covenant blank and sign them and send them to the Secretary named below. The officers of the "CITIZENS ALLIANCE" will be chosen later, but supplies can be obtained from the "YONKERS PLAN" Committee as follows:

(Here insert the names of the secretary and treasurer of the Committee with their addresses and then the Finance Committee with the chairman named first and the other names arranged in alphabetical order. Below these names, which may be paraphrased in small black face type, insert the following:)

NOTE.—Full particulars respecting the "YONKERS PLAN" and the purposes and form of organization of the "CITIZENS ALLIANCE" are contained in the 96-page, pocket size prohibition enforcement manual entitled "The 'YONKERS PLAN' for Prohibition Enforcement," the price of which is 25c post paid. Send a quarter to the Secretary and get your copy.

Or the secretary, if requested by mail at the address above, will send a copy FREE to any person who asks for it with a promise to read it through carefully.

These leaflets should be supplied and used freely enough to get one into the hands of every adult in the community who can read it.

The "covenant" for the local "CITIZENS ALLIANCE" should be printed for enrollment purposes on a card 3 x 5 inches, across the long way of the card, which should have a blank for name, address and date, and the church if a signer desires to indicate it. In New York the official "ALLIED CITIZENS" covenant can be had from headquarters.

Every church has a right to have the community know what proportion of its membership is co-operating for community betterment. The proportion of church

members contrasted with the proportion of those outside of churches who are ready to stand up and be counted in behalf of law and civic decency will also be illuminating as to the efficiency of the church as the exponent of a sound public morality.

The covenant card should also contain the words: **"My signature to this card does not bind me to pay any money."**

WHERE THIS MANUAL WILL HELP

At the time the first publicity containing evidence is released it will help if a copy of this manual is sent the mayor of the city or president of the village board, the head of the city or village police department, the district attorney of the county, the judges, including local magistrates, and all other officers having to do with enforcement, so that they may understand that what is under way is not a local spasm but is in accord with a state-wide and nation-wide plan that has been fully tested. Cloth covered copies will be appreciated more **and preserved longer.**

The Prohibition movement's experience of over fifty years has shown the importance of literature. Try to **tell** it to an official and you get into an argument. Let him read it and he cannot talk back to a prohibition enforcement manual. He may not like it, but it makes its impression just the same. **A manual about a concerted plan calls up as corroborative witnesses all the people who have tried it and won out by it throughout the whole country. They are there in spirit and are never silenced.**

"YONKERS PLAN" SUPERVISION

The Finance Committee, if it insists, may be relieved of all responsibility except that of making personal contribution, raising and safely keeping the fund, and paying it out on proper voucher. In that case there should be an Advisory Committee—preferably a **small** committee of not over five, including the secretary, who will be the executive officer and sign the public statements. Each community must decide for itself whether it is better to publish the names of this committee.

It will be well for the Committee to have legal counsel—not paid counsel, but some good local lawyer who should be chosen and called upon with the distinct understanding that he is not expected to pass judgment upon the wisdom of the "PLAN" or general policy, but to help make sure that it is carried out in a legal and proper manner, and that what is said is not actionable. It is self-evident that while a movement designed for law enforcement should be fearless in the exposure of wrong-doing it should not itself violate the law by infringing the legal rights even of liquor criminals. Where such counsel is not available the Anti-Saloon League counsel should be called upon.

After doing once these suggested things, then there remains merely to continue doing them, utilizing experience to avoid mistakes and increase efficiency, until the object is measurably accomplished.

Chapter 3.

STARTING AND PUSHING THE "YONKERS PLAN"

(2) WHAT NOT TO DO—AND WHY

DON'T BE TOO COCKSURE

When one considers the vast number of local law enforcement movements which have failed, there is little warrant for anyone's feeling that it is possible to carry on such work without careful consideration of the principles involved.

There are single sentences in this manual which epitomize months of experience on a particular point, and **its suggestions, if followed, will save the people of any community much time and money.** The time it will take to read it and then refer to it when in doubt on specific points, is small compared to the time required to work any plan. Far more than the time necessary to grasp the principles involved and note the detailed suggestions will be saved in working out the "PLAN", if the help here made available is utilized. In addition a local leader who is informed will be sure of himself in talking with friends, and escape many embarrassments when dealing with hostile public officials.

DON'T TAMPER WITH IT

The great danger in connection with this "PLAN" is that in practically every community somebody will propose something else or some variant which is new to persons who have just become interested, but is old and known to be a failure by experienced workers. Nearly thirty years of experience and experimenting by many people with all forms of effort to secure action by regularly-elected local officials is behind the "PLAN" expounded in this manual. No less-experienced citizen, however brilliant, can afford to ignore a "PLAN" embodying that accumulated knowledge. Millions of futile community dollars have already been spent trying out half-baked suggestions. To heed them now would be to waste time and money and, by failure, discourage earnest souls and set the community against early trial of the effective way. If such folly were general, National Prohibition itself might be the forfeit.

The "YONKERS PLAN" is as nearly fool proof as any working enforcement plan can be. It avoids the things by which nearly all local enforcement efforts have been wrecked. It reduces required things to a minimum. Any citizen who will not stand for getting the facts and publishing them either has something he is interested in covering up, or is at bottom opposed to self-government.

DON'T FLY THE TRACK

In the old style of law enforcement "crusades" the leader, frequently a minister, employed detectives and then undertook to see the "cases" through to a conviction. There were the inevitable, uncalculated expense; the risk of corrupted witnesses; clashes over questions of the guilt or innocence of the accused, whether officials prosecuted honestly,

whether jurors had been properly selected or tampered with; and so on through the course. The result was that frequently churches were split, or a minister sought a new field of labor, thereafter ever to say "I was stung once. Never again!"

This "PLAN" removes all occasion for such confusion and bad blood. There can be no tenable objection to any minister's uniting with other citizens to find out what actual conditions in his community are, and to make the facts public.

On such a basis, with a statement of the duties of the officials, the demand that they discharge those duties and give the people value received on their tax money cannot produce any division in a church or community **except between those who stand for law and those who do not.** The sooner that division comes the better it will be for every honest interest. The sooner many careless individuals who are at heart law-loving can be compelled to analyze their civic company and their real attitude toward law the more profitable it will be for the churches with which they are connected and the communities in which they live.

DON'T SKIMP ON INFORMATION

It is possible to be so saving of printed matter as to fail of adequate support. A "YONKERS PLAN" Committee not only needs to be right, but it also needs to **have the community know** it is right. It cannot afford to leave enemies in the rear. The prominent, representative citizen who is given a copy of the manual and does not promptly object to program or policy while it is being adopted, is in no position to do it later when the "PLAN" is in operation.

Further, the psychological effect upon public officials and politicians who know that such a manual is in the hands of leaders of thought and action in the community cannot be overestimated.

DON'T LEAVE THE FIELD TO CROOKS OR TRIFLERS

Dishonest attempts to forestall a sincere volunteer enforcement movement by getting and publishing alleged evidence should be exposed and repudiated. The Anti-Saloon League can help here.

The supposedly "good" man who is stupid or easy or unscrupulous enough to become a false front for a crooked effort to defeat good government merits no consideration at the expense of the community. The more completely he is discomfited by publication of the facts about his "investigation", the less likely any other person will be to try to fool the same community. The "YONKERS PLAN" is fully as useful when it exposes the attempts on the part of friends of politicians or of politically influential bootleggers to give a clean bill of health to an administration which is not enforcing the law, as it is when directly exposing violation of law.

DON'T WAIT FOR THE IDEAL

Under no circumstances should effort at local enforcement wait on ideal leadership. Most communities will have to develop their leaders in the actual operation of the "PLAN". Besides, the type of prominent person who is usually nominated by those without experience is apt to be too much engrossed with other things. Sometimes he has been spoiled by successes and made so opinionated and set on having his own way as to make him incapable of team work and unteachable in this specialized endeavor. As correct methods are the first requi-

site, a willingness to follow them is the second. Better a less outstanding leader willing to play by the rules than a notable one who insists on his own game regardless of consequences.

DON'T PUT SLACKERS, COWARDS, SELF-SEEKERS OR "CRANKS" AT THE HEAD

Any intelligent citizen, however estimable or prominent he may be, who will not help after reading this manual, is better outside the CONTROL of the local movement than in it. There is room for the help of everybody, no matter how half-hearted or grudging it may be, but if the movement is to succeed its local LEADERSHIP must be free to handle facts fearlessly.

Time-servers, popularity seekers, slackers and cowards will do well to stay in the rear ranks, and if they do not recognize that fact they should be LEFT there. From the viewpoint of self-seeking machine politicians and partisan newspapers and the parrot section of the public, there is no place for the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA", the "YONKERS PLAN" or anything else which compels politicians to face live issues in the open. Law enforcement is not a popular job—at least in its inception. After the public begins to reap the benefit it will be extremely popular. But no mere popularity-seeker can stand the punishment a **leader** must take to bring the movement to that point.

DON'T LET AXE-GRINDERS GET AWAY WITH IT

Practically any existing local organization of civic or semi-public character will have certain limitations which cannot be outgrown, and which will be imposed upon any movement which comes to be considered as its pet project. Any service it can render and any impetus or leadership it can give a COMMUNITY effort should be gratefully accepted, while any possible liabilities of reputation and influence should be tactfully avoided.

The immediate task to be considered is the enforcement of the prohibition law. This is of such difficulty and over-shadowing importance as to demand the best a community can offer. All experience proves that **the best can be rallied only through a movement devoted to this one thing upon the broad basis of CITIZENSHIP without regard to creed, party or sex.**

Any one who seeks to grind a personal, church, party or organization axe at the expense of community victory in support of law is unfit for leadership for the obvious reason that no one can render disinterested service while seeking a selfish end.

DON'T HESITATE TO OUST THE UNFIT

If a mistake is made and it becomes apparent that someone has acquired leadership who is promoting something else than law-enforcement and community welfare, there should be no hesitation about making his aims so apparent that he will resign or, by refusal to quit, demonstrate the need of more drastic action respecting him.

The purpose of this movement is **to bring about enforcement and observance of law or show what stands in the way**, so that public sentiment can focus itself on the obstacle. Those who, under the guise of devotion to such a cause, persist in doing things that block that cause and strengthen its enemies are themselves enemies and must be treated as such. Second only to these as a real menace to an enforcement movement are those congenital soft-

pedalers who allow actual enemies, masquerading as friends, to "get away with" their designs, for fear of a fuss or a muss.

If the movement locally is fettered by mercenary, self-seeking individuals, no matter how prominent, who have obtained control and insist on running it wrong or refuse to run it right,—or at all,—there is just one alternative—failure of the movement or ouster of the obstacle. If there must be a clash, the sooner it is over and the air cleared and the muss cleaned up, the sooner the movement will get at its real business. The movement will be immeasurably farther along locally at the end of five years if, with inflexible firmness, it goes straight to its mark, meeting squarely—**and head-on**—every issue which cannot be avoided without sacrifice of principle or efficiency, trusting to accomplished results to vindicate the policy, than if it drifts aimlessly, waiting for somebody to get tired and resign. The pestiferous sort never get tired of being pestiferous and never resign from a place that affords opportunity for their peculiar kind of ability.

DON'T FORM AN ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION

While the church people must be enlisted because the churches must furnish most of the dynamic essential to enforcement of prohibition, still it is true, with so few exceptions as to prove the rule, that it will be fatal to the "YONKERS PLAN" and to the development of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" to have either or both under the **control** of any local church organization such as ministerial union, council or federation of churches. For one thing such an organization would be Protestant, which might in some places instantly shut off the possibility of the Catholic co-operation in upholding law and order that may reasonably be expected. In the second place, the province of an inter-church body is to promote co-operative effort of the churches in the discharge of what are recognized as strictly ecclesiastical functions, and to afford a vehicle for a united expression of the conviction and the wish of the churches, as churches, respecting public questions that affect public morals and public welfare and determine the conditions under which they must operate. Such an organization may properly initiate the "PLAN," on the basis laid down in the preceding chapter, as a CITIZENS movement.

Enforcement work, in its "ALLIED CITIZENS" phase, touches politics in the broad and not the party sense, in a way which no church, as such, can wisely undertake but can approve; and the relation of the various churches to it should be solely one of impressing upon their members, respectively, the importance of discharging their individual civic obligations through non-partisan, non-sectarian agencies which are not ecclesiastical in character.

The same principles hold with respect to a local federation of church Brotherhoods,—or Bible classes. They should not be asked to disband their Brotherhood organizations and merge in the "ALLIED CITIZENS", because, as Brotherhoods, they have a certain function in relation to their own churches respectively. But every member of every church Brotherhood should be invited and urged, **as a citizen**, to sign the "ALLIED CITIZENS" covenant and to back up the "YONKERS PLAN" Committee.

DON'T OVERLOOK ANY CHURCH

The churches which are most conservative in their attitude toward reforms and therefore were not so active in the prohibition struggle, are very strong

in their opposition to lawlessness and in their respect for authority. It is unthinkable that they would assume an attitude of defiance of law, or even of failure to stand for enforcement of and obedience to law, **provided** the local advocates of enforcement are wise enough to press for enforcement uncomplicated with any other issue, and, where necessary to correct misrepresentation, take time to make it plain to all: (1) that prohibition is not and cannot be made an assault upon nor an attempt to regulate any church's religious rites or customs; and (2) that the enforcement laws protect them against imposers who attempt to make any church a screen for unlawful practices not sanctioned by any of its accredited representatives.

With a cordial, tactful invitation to all to join on this self-respecting basis, and with publication of the fact of such invitation, the "YONKERS PLAN" should be put into operation and the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" organization be pushed, always leaving the door open to any who at first decline to help, and renewing the invitation whenever there is any ground for believing that it will be accepted.

DON'T PARLEY—ACT

The "YONKERS PLAN" recognizes that the prohibition law has been singled out for attack, nullification, emasculation and ultimate repeal by a highly organized special interest with vast profits at stake, and it embodies summed-up experience that the only way to prevent many public officials from yielding to the pressure of this interest is to give the people the facts as to the law, the responsibility of the officials under that law, the efforts that are under way to break the law down and the extent to which the law is in fact being broken down. Its purpose is to rally the law-abiding element to the support of every conscientious official, neutralize nullification pressure, and crystallize sentiment which will make it politically safe for officers to fulfill not only the letter but the spirit of their oath of office,—and unsafe not to do so.

Notorious, chronic failure to enforce is ample notice to the public that officials are not only not doing their duty but do not intend to do it except as they may be compelled. If the public senses that conditions are bad, then local officials, with their special opportunities for securing information, must be presumed to **know** it. In such a case there is no obligation, moral or otherwise, to protect them; **but there is an obligation of good sense resting on trustees of the public welfare not to be fooled by them.** An attempt to "co-operate" with notoriously corrupt or wantonly negligent officials will merely kill time and probably kill the movement by first making it ridiculous. Besides, the "YONKERS PLAN" is not to be invoked until all hope of any genuine co-operation is gone.

There are two extremes of volunteer enforcement work. One is to undertake to do the work for the officials; that is, to get evidence and try to secure convictions over their heads. This is doomed to failure in advance. If it wins an occasional fragmentary success, that merely accentuates the gloom of the ultimate failure. **The second is to undertake to co-operate with the officials to such extent, through a sickly sentimentality that refuses to do anything that will hurt or offend a smooth-talking official, as to allow the officials to determine what the volunteers shall say and do.** This permits such officials to shunt the volunteer movement to a stub side-track and derail it there. The first course ends in a smash-up. The second in wasted effort, time, money and opportu-

nity. Both are foolish and futile, and therefore wrong.

The "YONKERS PLAN" is by its very nature an argument against the first mistaken extreme. It is in the second respect that those who operate the "YONKERS PLAN" will need to be most guarded, lest they let weak sympathy for unfaithful officials lead to unfaithfulness on their own part to the interests of their community.

DON'T HEED PLEAS FOR DELAY

A crooked official will spar for time. If he can get time, he figures, there may be a chance to ditch the whole affair or set up a counter diversion. Where the officials have not acted, it is ACTION and not words that is called for from civic volunteers. Armed with damaging facts they can strike a blow at the whole system of accepting the duties of office lightly and taking oath with reservations. The more objection there is to published FACTS, the plainer they become. But when facts are smothered the opportunity to make of the people an irresistible force for compelling permanent official faithfulness has been lost.

DON'T SUBORDINATE PUBLIC WEAL TO OFFICIAL PRIDE, FEELINGS OR STUBBORNNESS

Super-sensitiveness on the part of an official may be the best reason for publicity. Harrowed feelings sometimes help men to move in the direction of their duties. **An official who would sacrifice the benefits of aroused public sentiment on behalf of law for fear he may be reflected upon, is either trying to cover up something, or does not know his business, or would subordinate the public interest to his personal pride or opinion.**

An honest official may have incompetent or crooked assistants. Publicity will make him clean house. The public cannot consent to remain the victim of his bad judgment, or easy-going disposition, or real or fancied obligations to a political boss or organization.

DON'T SYMPATHIZE IMPROPERLY

There will be less of that misplaced sympathy which seeks to shield derelict officials if all bear in mind that the crowd trying to break down Prohibition is the most conscienceless, ruthless set of outlaws that ever fattened on human woe, and that often leaders, in some cases many of them, of the organization of either political party, are working hand-in-glove with these criminals in return for aid that exceeds, in proportion, anything that could be extorted from licensed saloon-keepers. Any local official who acts as a false front to such a system is no better than the crowd he trains with and perpetuates in power. A discriminating man of fine sensibilities who finds himself in such a position will expose it, and, if necessary, resign.

The proper perspective can be secured by remembering that law and order have been officially sacrificed, that much of the moral benefit of prohibition has been officially forfeited, that a vicious and crooked traffic has been officially allowed to ravage, that helpless women and children as well as men are suffering from it, and that any trifling with or mawkish sentimentality for the officials who are responsible and who sought the offices they hold, will be at the expense of the life blood and the heart anguish of many innocent sufferers.

The truth is that much so-called "fairness" of members of local enforcement committees in demanding that officials be given a fairer chance than the public is not fairness at all, but a mere pose, a form of egotism which seeks to appear before the world as exceedingly liberal.

DON'T BE BLUFFED

After the publication of facts some official may ask for the evidence and say that if it is furnished to him he will start cases in court. This is where the pressure becomes acute and, by that token, the place where the "YONKERS PLAN" is adhered to and made effective for all the future, or abandoned and the enforcement effort thereby made useless.

Such an official should be written courteously but plainly that HE can secure evidence at public expense and that the fines will go into the public treasury and can be appropriated to pay for the work of getting the evidence—so that ultimately it will not cost anything net to anybody but the violators of law; that if this is not true he should long ago have made an appeal to the proper body for funds for obtaining evidence, and, if need be, should have asked public help toward getting such an appropriation; but that common honesty requires that after the people have paid their taxes to maintain an official law enforcement machine they should not be asked to pay a second time for what officials have already been paid tax money to get. This letter, which should be given to the press, should explain that the plan of the local law enforcement committee is limited to securing facts for the public.

If the request or demand to turn over evidence is complied with, the Committee has not one chance left in a hundred to win out. The moment that a "YONKERS PLAN" Committee turns over its information to an official for presentation in court it risks the public impression as to the truth or falsity of it on the outcome of criminal prosecutions, over which the Committee has no control.

There may be somebody on the grand jury, an **"accident,"** of course, who uses his influence to prevent an indictment. If an indictment cannot be stopped somebody may be on the trial jury who will cause a disagreement; an **"accident,"** of course, **but such things happen.** A sullen, unwilling, not to say hostile district attorney may not protect the State's witnesses. He may let the counsel for the defense browbeat them. Then, he may not make his own case to the best advantage. In short, such an official is **anxious to have the case of the volunteers break down** so as to justify his own claim that he could not get evidence that would convict.

There are various ways of securing continuances and dragging cases along, spiring witnesses out of the jurisdiction of the court, until the people are tired out, and, in the improbable event a conviction is eventually secured, its effect has been discounted and it does not redeem the situation. Thus what is begun as an effort to enlist the public against do-nothing officials is allowed to become an instrument in the hands of the officials for justifying their inaction—and the chance to force a change of conditions has been lost.

DON'T HESITATE TO FIGHT BACK HARD

Under the "YONKERS PLAN" it is not necessary to get evidence sufficient to convict in court, but just enough to convince the public. This makes "YONKERS PLAN" work much cheaper. While two witnesses are better, and advisable the first time, one is enough for most subsequent investigations. No conviction can be secured on the evidence of one, but if a man from a reputable detective agency makes an affidavit, that will satisfy the public. If it is desired always to have corroboration to prevent or meet any damage suit by any person named, the affidavits of only one operative may be given out,

the corroborating affidavits of the other being withheld until needed.

Don't be scared by any official threat to issue subpoenas to force production of evidence. If the prosecuting attorney insists on trying to make court evidence out of the Committee's information, and thus make the Committee do some of **his** work, he should be compelled to work in the open where the public can watch him. All he can do is to have the "PLAN" secretary brought in by due legal process, and, if the court so orders, make him give the names of the detectives. After that any notice to the detectives to appear in any prosecution will have to come in the regular way, at public expense, on the responsibility of the public prosecutor.

The thing to do with a district attorney who gets ugly **is to fight back, out in the open**, and publicly accuse him of trying to stop the work of informing the public as to conditions. Tell him frankly that if he had been half as anxious to catch and convict liquor sellers as to embarrass citizens who want the sale of liquor stopped, it would never have been necessary for private citizens to act. Look up the record of his activity since the beginning of national prohibition and publish it, and refuse to be scared off. The Anti-Saloon League if asked will gladly help make an example of wet public officials who attempt to bulldoze law-abiding citizens they are sworn to protect.

DON'T FOSTER OFFICIAL LAZINESS

There is an even more fundamental reason for refusing to furnish witnesses to public officials. It promotes official laziness and incompetence. When officials are forced to get their own evidence and compelled to rely upon their own efficiency to secure enough in fines from lawbreakers to reimburse the public treasury for punishing them, or measurably so, self-government has been made to function as it should.

Every enforcement official should be held rigidly to the Roosevelt standard of official duty and fidelity, viz.: instead of stopping with technical compliance with the letter of what the law explicitly COMPELS him to do, an official should do everything along the general line of his official functions which the law PERMITS him to do to prevent, stop, and punish violation of law.

For example, a prosecuting attorney knows better than anybody else what kind of evidence is required for conviction. He has not discharged his duty when he merely tries cases that are forced upon him. If he knows, or ought to know that the law is being violated, the public has a right to expect that he will do everything in reason which is not unlawful or improper, to obtain or promote the obtaining of sufficient evidence. His real responsibility is **not just to punish some criminals**, but so to administer his office as to **HELP STOP CRIME**. To illustrate, no prosecutor can fairly claim that he is unable to secure evidence unless, as is already being done by many alert, conscientious officials, he insists upon infliction of the maximum penalty for persons convicted of drunkenness unless they tell, under oath, where and from whom they obtained their liquor. Neither has a prosecutor done his best unless he has done his utmost to secure **adequate imprisonment sentence for criminals OPERATING FOR PROFIT**, to secure **injunctions**, closing places where liquor is sold in violation of the law and to exhaust all other remedies against the owners of property used for illegal purposes, nor unless he has done his utmost to secure imposition of the "prohibitive tax"—(see Appendix, page

92), and has employed every other feature of the enforcement law which was inserted to make enforcement possible when ordinary remedies fail.

DON'T FLOAT EVIDENCE DURING POLITICAL FIGHT

While of course a community cannot allow its enforcement work to stop merely because the term of the local officials will expire "next year" or some months hence, it is important that the "PLAN" Committee should not **publish** any "YONKERS PLAN" evidence during the last four to six weeks of an election campaign where the law enforcement question is a political issue. What is published will either reflect on the officials, or some of them, or it will commend and help them, or some of them. In either case, a charge of partisan and factional purpose is inevitable. There is no need of raising the question of the non-partisanship and good faith of the "YONKERS PLAN" movement by any such publication during the last weeks of a local campaign. However, it may be well to **obtain** evidence during a campaign to show, if need be, that official immunity was granted in return for votes.

DON'T RETAIN POLITICALLY AMBITIOUS LEADERS

There have been many instances where a man prominent in a local movement has been approached by the political powers that were being disturbed and offered some political office. The acceptance of such an offer has often been unfortunate in its results. It is safer to have the **control** of the law enforcement movement in the hands of persons who have no ambition and cannot be induced to accept office. **Any person who becomes a candidate for any elective political position or accepts an appointive political position should immediately resign from any position of CONTROL of the local law enforcement organization.**

One cannot do full justice to both. The immediate interests are not the same,—and may clash. Refusal to resign from **leadership** of volunteer enforcement activity after accepting a political official position in connection with enforcement, or any kind of a position at the hands of a political organization which selects and controls the local enforcement officials, should be ample reason for a respectful but insistent request for resignation, to free the movement from suspicion on the one hand or possible political control on the other. Law enforcement must not only **be** untrammelled; it must be clearly **seen** to be so.

DON'T TAKE TOO MUCH FOR GRANTED

Do not assume, merely because **YOU** know that two-thirds of the States were dry before National Prohibition went into effect as well as most of the area of the others, that everybody knows this. It is positively amazing how many people, not only of ordinary intelligence but with special opportunity to be well-informed, do not yet know this after nearly three years since the ratification of prohibition. A host of perfectly sincere, generally intelligent people still believe there was something tricky and wrong about the way the prohibition amendment was "put over," to use their phrase. The wet newspaper propaganda to this effect is perhaps the most successful instance on record of "selling" a lie to the American people.

Men and women who ought to know better are still repeating, parrot-like, that it was "unfair to adopt prohibition while the soldiers were in France." It never occurs to them until it is suggested that the Congress that submitted prohibition was elected before this country entered the war at all, when the soldiers were at home and voting on this issue in most Congressional

districts. There are millions of sensible people upon whose comprehension it has not yet dawned that the men who were wet who later became soldiers voted for wet Congressmen, and the drys voted for dry Congressmen and elected a Congress which voted for submission by the necessary two-to-one-plus.

One of the main reasons for the bitterness of feeling against prohibition that exists in wet cities, is that the liquor interests, with the aid of most of the city newspapers throughout the Nation, have succeeded in deceiving the public and in convincing tens of thousands of men and women that their rights were taken away from them by a "trick." This is the explanation of the common statement: "I am not for the saloon and I don't know that I am opposed to prohibition, but I am opposed to the way it was done," although it was done in the regular way and by a larger vote than any other amendment to the United States Constitution ever received. Any program for law enforcement, especially the program of a local organization like the "ALLIED CITIZENS," which does not contemplate setting right the intelligent, well-meaning and naturally law-abiding citizens who have been deceived in this way, will fall short. If necessary, call upon the Anti-Saloon League for material.

DON'T THINK YOU ARE FIGHTING LIQUOR SELLERS ONLY

It is not only the liquor traffic of all America (see Chapter 5) that must be contended against, but every other phase of vice and wickedness which has become commercialized and syndicated is making common cause with the outlaw liquor interests against the enforcement of prohibition. The profits of all phases of gambling and the social evil, the other members of the old "trinity of hell," and of everything else that panders to the weakness of human nature will be gradually curtailed unless prohibition can be broken down.

DON'T QUIT

The most important "don't" is "Don't quit." More is accomplished by steadfastness than brilliancy. The hope of nullification lies in belief that the supporters of law will become tired and indifferent. Evil, even liquor lawlessness, will succumb to **persistent**, militant righteousness, but will give way to nothing less. The greater danger of silent, sullen, systematic evasion and personal violation of law will continue long after the politicians have discovered that open nullification of prohibition by repeal or amendment of enforcement legislation is no longer a profitable or even a safe political issue. The enactment of national prohibition was but the registration of national desire for it: enforcement is required to prove national determination to have it. With nations as with individuals it is **purpose** and not mere desire that crystallizes into character. If the American nation, after shaking its fist in outlawing the liquor traffic, should simply shake its finger when confronted with the enforcement issue, it would not only become a joke throughout the world, but it would forfeit its own self-respect and abdicate its sovereignty at home. See "Battle Order" on page 93.

The prohibition law must be enforced not merely because it is prohibition but primarily BECAUSE IT IS THE LAW. And if it takes a generation to carry into effect the determination of the American people to wipe out the liquor traffic, it will be the greatest generation's work in the history of the world.

Chapter 4.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR OTHER PHASES OF LAW ENFORCE- MENT—THE “ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Inc.”

NOTE:—Everything that is said here about the “ALLIED CITIZENS” or the principles underlying and involved in it, applies so far as in fact it is applicable, to any working equivalent of the “ALLIED CITIZENS”; regardless of its name.

The “YONKERS PLAN” is solely a plan for promoting the enforcement of the law, primarily the prohibition law. The “ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Incorporated to Uphold American Ideals and the United States Constitution,” is entitled to consideration **in connection with the “YONKERS PLAN”** only so far as it may be needed to facilitate the carrying out of that “PLAN.” It has other functions and stands on its own merits with respect to them. They are set out in this chapter, distinct from the “PLAN” itself, in order that every community which uses the “ALLIED CITIZENS” to promote the “YONKERS PLAN” may also have an opportunity to obtain the other benefits to be had through this system of local organization.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

Any community which has a single **QUALIFIED** leader and will back him with moderate funds CAN, by following the directions in this manual, successfully work the “YONKERS PLAN” temporarily through a special local committee for that purpose, independent of any other organization, local or general.

Theoretically, this is true everywhere. **PRACTICALLY** not one community in a hundred WILL so work it as to secure lasting as well as immediate satisfactory results, except there be a local organization equivalent to the “ALLIED CITIZENS” to do the things the “YONKERS PLAN” does not and cannot do, and unless it has the help and advice of a general organization like the Anti-Saloon League.

The Anti-Saloon League of a State can inaugurate and directly supervise in various communities the operation of this “PLAN” which epitomizes the League’s working law enforcement principles, without organizing the “ALLIED CITIZENS” or any similar medium locally. But there will be more of permanent value for each community, and many more communities can be helped, if the local citizenship has been both generally enlisted for that purpose and then taught how to secure proper local objectives through the functioning of local self-government. **No State organization can, without a top-heavy staff and prohibitive expense, do for all the communities of a State even the proper things they can and will do for themselves, when they are once organized, trained, and set going.**

THE NEEDED LINK

The Anti-Saloon League is a LEAGUE of organizations. It has no individual membership. This has made possible the flexibility which has been so large a factor in its marvelous success thus far. It has been an element of strength. It is also an element of weakness. Recognizing this, various State Anti-Saloon Leagues have inaugurated a local committee system or some other plan of their own to supply the need of a vital direct touch with individual men and women voters.

The "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" is merely a more thoroughly elaborated and completely tested provision for meeting this admitted need, on a basis broad enough to serve every legitimate civic and patriotic interest.

UNSUPERVISED ORGANIZATIONS COMMONLY FUTILE

Over a quarter of a century of work has proved that the average unsupervised local law enforcement organization not only will not accomplish any permanent, material good, but may become an actual menace to the cause. Any person who tries to get a local organization to secede from connection with a general enforcement movement thereby proves his incompetence or lack of grasp, or he has some ulterior object that will not stand scrutiny. The incorrigible "individualist" has no proper place in the control of a CO-OPERATIVE movement.

Any reasonably comprehensive working system of local organization projected and consistently maintained by an efficient State Anti-Saloon League management and backed by the educated militant constituency of such a League will accomplish more for enforcement in every community than can be accomplished in any community through any ideal paper plan without such backing.

For this reason the "ALLIED CITIZENS" general management will refuse to authorize the use of the name "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" by a local organization **unless provision has been made for adequate State organization and superintendence on a practical and permanent basis.**

The success of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" in New York has been due to the fact that while it appeals to and reaches a wider constituency than has been enlisted under the name of the Anti-Saloon League and covers a broader field than the League, still it was projected by and has worked in harmony with the League.

The secret of the remarkable efficiency of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" in New York State, the general spirit of harmony, and its cordial acceptance of the policies of the Anti-Saloon League, lies in the care taken to secure on each initial Board of Directors from which the officers are chosen, not only good, influential, prominent people of courage and moral conviction, but those who have these qualities **plus capacity for team-work**, recognition of the need of aggressiveness, and sufficient experience and practical common sense to be neither stampeded by hullabaloo nor swerved by pressure. There are such people in practically every community. If any community has none such, **its first step toward organization should be to try to develop some.**

OFFERED FREELY WITH SAFEGUARDS

In the meantime this enforcement manual makes freely available, everything that has been learned by the "ALLIED CITIZENS," including the use of covenant, statement of purposes, and constitution. It **or any of it** can be used by any State Anti-Saloon

League which so desires, **under the name of "CITIZENS ALLIANCE" or any other name.** Or it is open to any community which desires to make emergency local use of it under the name of the "CITIZENS ALLIANCE OF (name of community)," with the intention of co-operating in whatever is the recognized State-wide, going movement for law enforcement in that State.

Adoption of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" program, covenant and constitution by an independent local organization will facilitate state and national affiliation if that is ever desired. Any local "CITIZENS ALLIANCE" or equivalent organization can send the names of its covenanted members to the Anti-Saloon League of its own State, which can then send them its bulletins covering state campaigns to strengthen or protect enforcement laws.

The name "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" is protected throughout the nation by the terms of incorporation. For further protection **this manual and all contents are copyrighted.** No permission will be granted to use that name or the basis of organization set out in this manual except in harmony with the conditions and general principles herein.

WHY NATIONAL IN SCOPE AND NAME

The only kind of citizenship, so far as upholding the Federal Constitution and laws to make that instrument effective is concerned, is **AMERICAN** citizenship. Since the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Inc., is to uphold the Constitution and American ideals it could not be built on mere State citizenship, therefore, or a State name. Its title had to be as inclusive as its aims, and being of necessity national in its character, its experience, purposes, methods and name can be useful anywhere in the nation.

INDEPENDENT STATE ORGANIZATIONS

It is doubtless well to assure the pathologically cautious that the general organization of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" can have no possible control over any covenanted member beyond what is inherent in the accuracy of the information and the wisdom of the advice given him.

It ought to be clear, also, that the **"ALLIED CITIZENS" can have no control of any kind over any local "CITIZENS ALLIANCE" or other organization equivalent to the "ALLIED CITIZENS," or over any member of it, even though it may be modeled after the "ALLIED CITIZENS" and uses the "ALLIED CITIZENS" covenant.** Such local organization or State system of organization may continue permanently under some other name without connection with, obligation to, or supervision by, the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA."

If a local organization similar to the "ALLIED CITIZENS," or a State association of similar but differently named local organizations, wants the benefit of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" name and fellowship, it is at liberty to ask for a charter, which the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Inc." is equally free to grant or refuse. Obviously, if any State association of similar local organizations is ever accepted into the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA," that State association will continue to define its own attitude on State issues within its own State.

If a union of State organizations under the name "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Inc." is ever proposed or achieved the terms of union will be a proper subject for mutual agreement at the time. So far, however, this is a purely academic question.

No community outside of New York State is urged

to adopt the "ALLIED CITIZENS," and any community which does so must take it as it stands and comply with the necessary safeguards respecting superintendence, or else not use the name.

ITS COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM

The purposes of the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Inc." (as set out in its certificate of incorporation as a national organization under the laws of the State of New York) are:

1. To unite citizens without regard to creed or party to uphold American ideals and the United States Constitution.
2. To develop and foster sentiment favorable to the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution as a national effort to promote the health, happiness, morals and general welfare of the people of the United States and to preserve the integrity of the American home.
3. To promote belief in the Constitution of the United States as a living instrument answerable to orderly social progress and respect for it as essential to willing, general observance of law.
4. To combat by an educational service any person or organization that preaches sedition or defiance of law or practices rebellion against orderly processes of government.
5. To train citizens in every community to meet problems of official negligence or incompetence with respect to the enforcement of law.
6. To teach, to those who do not understand, the justice, fairness and responsiveness of the American system of government, and the rightful authority of any law, while it is the law, enacted under that system.
7. To aid in assimilating into American social and civic life illiterate and isolated alien groups of the population by helping them master the language and comprehend the spirit of the Constitution.
8. To organize, in towns, villages and cities, and in each county and state, the men and women citizens who will co-operate for the above purposes, and to advise and instruct them how to achieve those ends.
9. To further in any other lawful way these purposes.

It is a moral, patriotic, non-partisan organization of covenanted members. Rising above creed it welcomes all—Protestant, Catholic, Jew—who stand for its purposes.

To encourage foreign-speaking residents to master the language of the Constitution, it will officially use no language save English and will not accept any persons to membership save those who, in addition to other qualifications, are able to read and sign its covenant.

While free to express approval or disapproval, **the general organization and officers will not engage** in any sort of political activity to promote or defeat any proposal relating to the purposes above set out. This leaves the members, individually, and associated in their respective localities, free to determine how, and to what extent, they, as citizens, will work to carry out the purposes they have approved.

It holds that **personal liberty ends where public injury begins**, and stands for a spirit of service and sacrifice for the common good.

THE LOGICAL NEXT STEP

The Anti-Saloon League began as an agency advocating laws through which the people might effectively vote against the liquor traffic. But it found that the traffic, aided by other special interests, so controlled politics and dominated legislators that they would neither prohibit it themselves nor allow the people to do so by their own votes. So it became necessary to teach the people how to break that strangle-hold. The League had to enter politics to do it because it was through politics that the liquor traffic exercised its control. And thus the Anti-Saloon League had to become a great civic training agency and teach the people how to make the legislative branch of their respective governments responsive to the public will.

Now that prohibition is the law, and enforcement is the task, the same subversive liquor forces are found to have a similar and wide control of the local gov-

ernmental agencies of enforcement, and to dominate local enforcement executives throughout the range of lesser political units. The people must be taught how to break this grip—how to make local enforcement officials responsive. As it cannot be done for them, this involves **local** political action, because the opposing control is exerted politically. The activity must be local, because enforcement is largely a local issue, handled by local officials. To wield local sentiment for law and order a local organization is required. Local conditions cannot be purified without the raising of a local **moral** issue.

This is particularly true of municipalities, which are peculiarly fester-centers in our American system of government. Therefore not only prohibition enforcement, but the perpetuity of free representative government, depends upon using local **moral** sentiment, through an adequate system of local organization, to inject this fundamental, **moral** issue into local affairs everywhere, until observance of law becomes a matter of course. A vital **moral** issue furnishes both the rallying power that enlists the moral element of a community to improve conditions generally in order that the particular moral issue may have a fair chance on its merits, and also the driving power which, under wise leadership, impels that element to see the thing through. It supplies a "moral equivalent of war."

GENERAL ORGANIZATION EDUCATIONAL IN SCOPE

The function of the GENERAL ORGANIZATION of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" is **distinctly educational**, and it will not engage in any political activity of any sort. While its purpose is to inspire and train the citizenship of each community to work out their own civic salvation by giving effect to local law-and-order sentiment through choice of competent conscientious local officials, **it** will not decide which candidates shall be supported in any locality. When State-wide enforcement issues arise, involving for example the choice of an efficient State executive or one in favor of protecting existing or passing additional enforcement legislation, even then the **general** organization of the ALLIED CITIZENS" will make no statement and take no action calculated to influence the choice. It will hold undeviatingly to its educational character and leave the questioning, discussion and recommendation of candidates for State offices affecting enforcement to the State organization of the Anti-Saloon League, which is already active in that field.

The "ALLIED CITIZENS" is also the only working, **comprehensive** answer to the more than a score of newly-formed pro-liquor leagues and associations which are locally listing individual members and then endeavoring to make an impression upon legislators and enforcement officials by pyramiding their memberships, when in fact many of the same people join all.

NOTHING ELSE DOES IT

Every local officer shown by the "YONKERS PLAN" to be negligent or incompetent needs to know also that his fellow-citizens are united locally without regard to creed or party to stand by officials who are efficient exponents of law, and to deal duly with those who are not. Prosecuting attorneys, judges and magistrates need to feel the backing of organized bodies of citizens pledged to support them in the faithful execution of the laws. The trouble with the government of municipalities and counties is that **respect for law has never been made a continuously live issue in them.** The weakness of prosecutions and the difficulty with trials has been due to the perpetual presence and pres-

sure of the enemies of the law, and the absence and utter indifference of the friends of law.

Enemies of order have always flocked together for self-protection. Friends of order have thought and felt individually, but disorganizedly and without effect. None but the citizens of a community can make government function truly there. They cannot do it without being united to uphold law and make their unison on that issue felt. That is the "WHY?" of the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Inc."

In the State of New York members of its local divisions have thronged court-rooms, when important cases were on, to give moral backing to the officials—and to keep tab on their performances. "ALLIED CITIZENS" have gone en masse to local municipal councils to plead or protest. They have answered the lawless through the newspapers. They have carried the issue of observance of the law into their local voting and have given place and power to official exponents of orderly government. They keep at work to extend the number of citizens in their communities who stand together in covenanted union to uphold all law. They are so raising the issue of law in municipalities, towns and counties as to give public officials a new consciousness of the public's interest in the things that officials are appointed and set by law to do.

AMERICANIZES AMERICANS

The "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Incorporated to Uphold American Ideals and the United States Constitution," offers the best name and platform yet proposed for "Americanization" work. In addition, —IT WORKS. With over 200,000 covenanted members of voting age and nearly 500 local "Divisions" in the Empire State which accounted for more than the margin which elected a law enforcement Governor, it has passed the stage of theory and experiment.

Without disparaging or interfering with any wise, earnest effort to Americanize the foreigner among us, it is self-evident that much "Americanization" work needs yet to be done among native Americans who have joined the defeated German brewers and the discredited "German-American Alliance" in an attack upon a portion of the Constitution which peculiarly expresses American conscience and character.

The "Americanization" of those of foreign birth and parentage will have progressed farther by the end of a 25-year period if AMERICANS are **Americanized** sufficiently to respect laws adopted under the American principles of majority rule and self-government, than if something of our language and of American history and institutions is taught to aliens and foreign-speaking citizens who are then left to imitate so-called American citizens who practice or connive at anarchy with respect to a particular law which **they** do not like.

RALLIES NATIVE AND ALIEN TOO

When American citizens have been united through a covenant to uphold the law it will be possible to set the American citizenship of entire communities at work upon "Americanization." This will give better and quicker results than carrying on restricted "Americanization" programs at the expense of a few who may be suspected of a selfish, ulterior motive.

The Americanism of Americans must be made evident before "Americanization" work among others has a fair chance. An "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" organization through which the citizens of a community exemplify their own patriotism and together uphold civil liberty under law will not only make true Americanism dominant, but it can take its pick of

"Americanization" programs for aliens offered by acknowledged experts in that work.

DESIGNED TO MEET ENTIRE NEED

The "ALLIED CITIZENS" can, if desired, be used solely to push the "YONKERS PLAN" or to put on an "Americanization" program. But so to restrict it would be inexcusable waste of power and opportunity, because the "ALLIED CITIZENS" is "good for what ails" the country. It is broad enough in its conception and deep enough in its reach to be the means of healing that continuous source of social poison in America—local misgovernment.

If there is no local organization as a rallying point for public-spirited citizens some problems connected with enforcement will never be met. If there is such an organization, but one capable of only half the enforcement program the community needs, it will be pushed aside when the people get ready to meet their local needs fully. This means a dissipation of civic power, in the form of aroused public sentiment, through a confused effort to find an ampler channel or more adequate vehicle for it.

It is wiser, therefore, to **start** upon a basis broad enough to deal with anything that may come up, and, by training the people to militant efficiency on one issue, teach them how to get results on others.

GRINDS ONLY WHEN THERE IS GRIST

A local "ALLIED CITIZENS" organization need not always require much of the time of its officers and the attention of its members. The quickest way to kill even a promising local organization is to try to keep wheels grinding without grist.

If the "YONKERS PLAN" be well started, the "PLAN" fund raised, the friends of law banded together in a local division of the "ALLIED CITIZENS," and contact established with the Anti-Saloon League, further immediate activities aside from the "PLAN" and the local ordinance referred to in this chapter will depend on events and conditions. If public officials still prove recreant in the face of exposure, indignation meetings arranged by the "ALLIED CITIZENS" and a volley of letters from "ALLIED CITIZENS" members to the local papers will help. If court results are contrary to the evidence, public agitation and attendance of members during trial will help tone up public opinion and increase official earnestness. The symmetry and logical completeness of the **three-fold program** (see page 76) will increasingly and cumulatively commend themselves to all intelligent, fair-minded citizens, including those who at first were inclined to be suspicious and skeptical.

NO SIN TO BE SENSIBLE

The local program, beyond routine necessary to keep the organization intact and its offices filled, will depend upon what it is necessary to do,—or counteract. A local "ALLIED CITIZENS" division is no more dead between efforts than a political party is dead locally between campaigns. An efficient system of local organization does not demand useless effort. It is no sin to be sensible.

The "ALLIED CITIZENS" is an emergency organization—like a fire department, which is not always driving through the streets with bell clanging or siren sounding and the muffler cut out, but is ready to act when needed.

A higher grade of men and women will serve as officers in the local organization in many places if they understand: (1) that they are not called upon

to be active unless there is something to be active about; and (2), that they are backed and will be helped by an organization like the Anti-Saloon League.

A COVENANTED MEMBERSHIP

Any person who signs the covenant of the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" thereby becomes an **active** member, to remain such until he dies or asks to be dropped.

That covenant is as follows:

"Desiring to have part in promoting morality and patriotism, and the civic welfare of my community, I hereby subscribe myself a member of the 'ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, INC.,' and covenant with other members to uphold American ideals and the Constitution of the United States (including the Eighteenth Amendment thereto) and to co-operate in all proper efforts to maintain due respect for all laws—local, state and national."

There is no financial obligation attached to active membership. This policy was adopted with great deliberation, after careful study and observation and not until, starting with an apparently successful local organization of the paid membership type, the Anti-Saloon League of New York first incorporated, under a different, appropriate name, a State-wide-citizens' organization on this basis, and, after spending over a year of time, much effort and some money, found that a considerable proportion of the persons in every community who desire to co-operate and whose help is needed were automatically excluded by an **obligatory** membership fee. In recognition of this fact, the "ALLIED CITIZENS" was started to meet **the nation's imperative need of A PATRIOTIC ENROLLMENT FOR LAW AND ORDER, uncomplicated with any other issue or interest.**

Some persons who favor observing and enforcing law would suspect an ulterior motive back of any membership proposal which **requires** a fee, no matter how small. A few will always be skeptical and suspicious because they are constituted that way. Even a dollar membership fee would keep out both classes as well as all those who would gladly pay it but cannot. Often there are several prospective members in a single family where a membership fee would be a burden. It would be wrong either to deprive the cause of the benefit of their votes, moral influence, and possible personal services, or to deprive them of an opportunity to help upon a comfortable, self-respecting basis.

If every man or woman citizen is offered, not an associate membership but an **ACTIVE** membership, with the distinct understanding that there is no obligation express or implied to pay any money except as he or she may desire, then there is no excuse for refusing to join the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" except opposition to what it stands for. **This makes it possible to enlist everybody who is willing to go on record for upholding the law.**

MEETING THE EXPENSES

It is evident to any thinking person that projecting, organizing and supervising the work of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" is impossible unless funds for that purpose are furnished by somebody, in some way. It would have been impossible to start the work successfully in New York if this expense had not been carried by the Anti-Saloon League. And the Anti-Saloon League of New York could not have carried it without special contributions for that purpose. Even now, with the trails broken, it will be impossible for a State Anti-Saloon League to start and develop the "ALLIED CITIZENS" sufficiently for aroused, informed citizens, organized locally, to hold the balance of power in a state on the enforcement

issue, or keep it functioning effectively unless it becomes self-supporting or substantial contributions are received for that specific purpose.

It is necessary, therefore, to provide that those active members who desire to repay the expense of the missionary work which enlisted their interest may do so, in order that further extension of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" may proceed. Others able to do so are invited to aid in the enlargement of the work of organization so as to hasten the time when the law-abiding citizens of every community will have a well-organized, efficiently functioning means of making their sentiment operative. For these purposes members of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" who can do so should be asked to become "SUSTAINING" or "CONTRIBUTING" members in addition to being active members.

SUSTAINING AND CONTRIBUTING MEMBERS

A "SUSTAINING" member of the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Inc." is one who pays one dollar (\$1) per year.

"CONTRIBUTING" memberships are in five classes:

Class A	who pay	\$100	per year
Class B	who pay	\$50	per year
Class C	who pay	\$25	per year
Class D	who pay	\$10	per year
Class E	who pay	\$5	per year

DEPENDENCE UPON GENERAL ORGANIZATION

Most of the work of getting information to individual members of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" and the local voting citizenship will have to be taken care of for the local division by the state or general organization, which, with its consolidated facilities and better equipment for mailing, can do it more cheaply. In a case where the state organization has not the funds to do what the local organization wants, and the latter is willing to pay the cost of the special service, the work can be done at the state headquarters at local expense more cheaply than the local organization can do it for itself.

Where it would cost a small city or large town from three to five **thousand** dollars a year to employ a secretary and maintain an office and get out even routine information, equally efficient service can be furnished by a centralized organization under expert supervision for as many **hundreds** of dollars.

There can be no occasion or excuse, no matter how apparently urgent may be the call, for local "ALLIED CITIZENS" taking subscriptions at any church service. For reasons previously given, this course would be unwise even in raising the "YONKERS PLAN" fund. With that raised the average local "ALLIED CITIZENS" organization has no need for any large sum of money. If it does need money its local officers should either themselves go out and raise it by showing the need for it to the members and friends who are able and willing to help, or else make their case so strong as to be able to secure committees from the membership who will raise it. Solicitation at church services or requests that churches themselves take collections for it will not only destroy the welcome which the local "ALLIED CITIZENS" ought always to have in the local churches, **but it will secure far less money** than a reasonable effort at personal solicitation. There is no objection to a mere cash offering for incidental expenses at a public meeting in behalf of enforcement.

DIVISION OF FUNDS

The general organization will turn back to each local division, so long as it maintains an active local

organization, one dollar out of every **"contributing"** membership paid by any active member living within the territory of such local division. This is to cover the routine expenses of the local branch, such as postage, printing and the incidental expenses of local meetings, but is not to be used to do law enforcement work in general, or push the **"YONKERS PLAN"** in particular. With this exception, the funds accruing from memberships and other sources will go to and be used by the general organization for extension and educational work.

If, due to strong local sentiment and an unusually large and aggressive local membership, there should be a surplus above routine expenses left at the end of the year from the local portion of these **"contributing"** memberships, it will be productive of more good if, save for enough balance to take care of incidentals until the new **"contributing"** memberships are paid, the surplus in the local treasury be given back to the general organization for extension purposes. The hoarding of an accumulated fund for which there is no local use tends toward stagnation and disintegration, while the extension and educational needs of the general organization will exceed all ability to meet them for many years.

SPECIAL FUNDS FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES

If there is a special community task of other than routine sort which the local organization wants to undertake, money may be solicited and spent for that particular purpose. It is far easier to raise money to do a specific, approved, timely thing than to raise it merely to be put into a treasury to be appropriated and spent later as a board may decide. Where a local organization has not enough **"contributing"** members for its share of the receipts from that source to take care of local routine expenses, such memberships will have to be increased by the co-operative effort of the general and the respective local organizations, or such expenses will have to be provided for through local contributions.

Every **"contributing"** member who wishes it (requesting appropriation of a part of his fee for that purpose to comply with the postal law) will receive without charge for the period covered by his payment, either the state or national publication of the Anti-Saloon League or a special **"ALLIED CITIZENS"** bulletin or publication if one is issued, as may be decided. A periodical which is printed in regular course and mailable at pound rates is more satisfactory, and cheaper in proportion to the service rendered, than special bulletins issued at irregular intervals which have to carry stamp postage.

EXPENSES OF THE GENERAL ORGANIZATION

Speaking approximately, one-half of the general organization's receipts from **"sustaining"** and **"contributing"** memberships will be used in continuous general superintendence of the respective local divisions, in furnishing legal counsel and expert advice in specific local enforcement efforts, and in sending information to the individual members and the voters of the respective communities.

In order to enable the people of every locality to contend on even terms with the forces of lawlessness, the other half will be used to extend the organization in new communities, educating and informing the people about matters which have to do with the upholding of the law, maintaining the competent organizers needed for this special work and

paying their expenses such as railroad fares and hotel bills where local subsistence is not contributed.

A system of organization for the enforcement of the law is no exception to the universal rule that it is impossible to get out of anything any more than is put into it in effort, or money, or both. The "ALLIED CITIZENS" has no occult power and no secret of perpetual motion.

A MODEL CONSTITUTION

The following is the constitution of a local branch (known as a Division) of the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, Inc.," In New York State printed copies of the official form and the services of an organizer may be obtained on application. For local, unchartered groups outside of New York the name "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA", wherever it occurs, should be changed to the "CITIZENS ALLIANCE OF (name of community)":

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, INC., FOR DIVISIONS WITHIN COUNTIES IN NEW YORK STATE

I.—NAME

This organization shall be the.....Division of the New York State Department of the Allied Citizens of America, Inc., and shall operate in loyal co-operation with all other Divisions and Departments of The Allied Citizens of America.

II.—PURPOSE

Its purposes shall be those of the State Department of the incorporated body of which it is a part, which broadly stated, are the upholding of American Ideals, the Constitution and Laws of the United States and the State, and all local ordinances.

III.—MEMBERSHIP

Any citizen in New York State may become a member by signing the following covenant:

IV.—COVENANT

Desiring to have part in promoting morality and patriotism, and the civic welfare of my community, I hereby subscribe myself a member of The Allied Citizens of America, and covenant with other members to uphold American Ideals and the Constitution of the United States (including the Eighteenth Amendment thereto) and to co-operate in all proper efforts to maintain due respect for all laws—local, state and national.

(It is understood that a signature to this does not bind the signer to pay any money.)

V.—OFFICERS

1. The officers of each Division shall consist of a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

These officers shall be elected by the Board of Directors (which shall number at least eight) from among their own number immediately after the said Board is constituted, they and the other members of the Board to serve until the first Biennial Meeting.

2. The Biennial Meeting shall be held in the period beginning the first of April and ending the thirtieth of June in the even numbered years beginning 1922, at a time and place to be decided upon by a majority of the Executive Committee, notice of meeting for such purpose to be sent to each member of the Committee at least two weeks prior to the meeting. All living within the territory of this Division who have signed the covenant card shall be eligible to vote at the annual meeting, notice of which shall be reasonably published (at least thirty hours) prior to the hour of the meeting. At the first Biennial Meeting the Directors shall be elected to serve for two years. Nomination for Director shall be by petition; the signatures of five members shall be necessary to the nomination of any candidate for the position of Director. Election shall be by secret ballot; each member shall vote for the number of Directors to be elected: A majority of the votes cast shall be necessary for election. Immediately after each Biennial Meeting the Board of Directors shall elect officers for the ensuing two years.

VI.—EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Board of Directors, and the chairmen of the standing committees appointed by the Directors, shall together constitute the Executive Committee.

VII.—MEETINGS

Meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held upon call of the President or upon a signed call of five members.

Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be held immediately following the meeting of the Directors.

The Secretary shall notify all members of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee of any meeting of said Board or Committee at least thirty hours in advance of any such meeting or meetings.

Special meetings of the Division may be called by a majority vote of those present at any Executive Committee meeting, either by personal notice, or by notice reasonably published at least thirty hours prior to the hour of the meeting.

VI.—AMENDMENTS

Amendments to the Constitution or By-Laws may be proposed at any meeting of the Division by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting, but no proposed amendment shall take effect until it shall have been approved successively by the local Executive Committee and the State Executive Committee.

BY-LAWS

PRESIDENT:

The duties of the President and Vice-President shall be such as usually pertain to these offices.

SECRETARY:

The duty of the Secretary shall be to keep a full and accurate record of the proceedings of the organization, to attend to its correspondence, and to keep true copies of all covenants signed by citizens living in the community and to send the original cards to the headquarters of the Department of New York State.

TREASURER:

The duty of the Treasurer shall be such as usually pertains to this office.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

The Board of Directors shall have power to fill all vacancies in its membership or in that of the Executive Committee.

No bills shall be paid until approved by the Board of Directors.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

The Executive Committee shall be charged with the general direction of the organization's activities; shall be responsible for the planning of its work and devising ways and means for its development, welfare and usefulness, in co-operation with the general officers and directors.

The Executive Committee may appoint special committees that shall represent it and have supervision of any special interest, activity or department of work.

The Executive Committee shall have full power to act for its Division in an emergency, but it shall not, and no officer or member thereof shall, bring any suit or legal proceedings of any sort in the name of the Allied Citizens of America, or make the organization financially responsible for any costs or expenses connected with any legal proceeding without the consent of the State Executive Committee.

Adopting the foregoing Constitution and By-Laws, we the members of the Allied Citizens of America,..... Division,.....County, pledge loyal co-operation with all other Divisions and Departments of the Allied Citizens of America.

President

Secretary

The "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" also has a "TRUE BLUE JUNIOR DEPARTMENT".. The covenant card for this department is blue, the wording of the covenant being the same except that it says "Junior Department" and the blank provides for a statement of the age of the signer as well as the date. This can be used in the Intermediate and Senior Departments of the Sunday Schools and young people's organizations, such as the Epworth League and Christian Endeavor. It is well worth while to interest the young people of the community in the enforcement of law before they become voters. **THEY** are the ones who must finally settle the question of prohibition enforcement if there is

to be no civic back-sliding. Many of them will be glad to render definite local service, such as the distribution of literature.

STANDING COMMITTEES

The **Executive** Committee of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" alone has authority to interrogate candidates for local offices relating to enforcement as to their attitude and proposed policy toward upholding the law, and to publish their replies; or to approve or protest in the name of the organization respecting the selection of any candidate for an appointive position which vitally affects enforcement.

The following additional committees are provided for in New York and are recommended for every community, their chairmen being members of the local Executive Committee:

(1) **Advisory Committee**, composed entirely of clergymen which should also undertake to enlist the active co-operation of every local clergyman.

(2) **Publicity Committee**, which is responsible for furnishing an answer to every misrepresentation published respecting prohibition enforcement or the "ALLIED CITIZENS". It should take advantage of every legitimate opportunity to secure publication of the truth in the public press, especially the duty of citizens to uphold the law, and also serve as a committee on literature.

(3) **Organization**, to see that every citizen in the community is asked to join the "ALLIED CITIZENS" and, in connection with the general community canvass, to co-operate with the Finance Committee of the "YONKERS PLAN".

(4) **Americanization**, to see that locally resident aliens and naturalized citizens are taught about the American system of government, the Federal Constitution, the **duties** as well as the rights which go with citizenship or even residence here, and whatever else will aid them to become intelligently loyal.

(5) **Meetings and Speakers**, covering not merely general public meetings in behalf of law enforcement, but the sending of speakers to farmers' and teachers' institutes and similar public gatherings, and to churches, Sunday Schools and other organizations to explain the purposes of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" in connection with an intensive membership drive or any special work it has in hand.

(6) **Finance**, to prepare a budget for local expenses and raise money, and direct, in conjunction with the general organization, the local canvass for "**sustaining**" and "**contributing**" memberships.

(7) **Special Groups**, which should get in touch with every club, society, improvement association, Grange, fraternal and labor organization, and every church and young people's society, in order to secure an expression of sympathy and co-operation and a canvass of its own membership for signatures to the "ALLIED CITIZENS" covenant.

(8) **Law Enforcement**. To initiate and push the "YONKERS PLAN" where such "PLAN" has not already been put into operation, and where it needs reviving; to co-operate with those pushing it where it has already been started, furnishing a connection between it and the "ALLIED CITIZENS" in the interests of mutual efficiency; and to initiate and supervise other suggested lines of non-political action looking to obtaining or endorsing official activity and securing effective court action against law-breakers.

MERELY TO ORGANIZE IS HIGHLY WORTH WHILE

The uniting of all the citizens of a community who stand for the Constitution is the first and the greatest piece of constructive accomplishment possible to a local "ALLIED CITIZENS DIVISION." This is vitally important and effective in itself, and **gives the power to everything else a local division subsequently does.** The proportion of the citizens of any city or county so banded together will exactly determine under normal conditions how far its officials will be willing to go in upholding the law. Numbers are vital, both to impress sluggish officials with the need for action and to sustain faithful officials when they have acted.

If the local membership is recruited to a point that numerically constitutes the balance of power politically, with ample margin, it will be treated and respected accordingly so long as it makes good. **The greater its potential political force, the less of direct political work it will have to undertake.** Where a small organization would have to fight, the mere existence of a large enough membership will win most local objectives without even a contest. **Effort spent in initial enlistment of every eligible person in the community will be repaid many times over in the saving of time, labor, friction and possible bad feeling incident to political activity after the work starts.**

CANVASS FOR MEMBERS FIRST ENFORCEMENT TASK

Put the question of membership to every citizen. The easiest time to secure members is when the organization has the attention of the community. If the membership results are not encouraging the sooner those who **are ready** start to work the better. The earlier it is understood that a community lacks a majority willing to stand for the supremacy of law the more quickly sufficient public sentiment to change that situation can be aroused.

No valid reason can be given by any citizen for refusing to sign the covenant, since his own judgment and good faith are to determine for him what is a "proper effort to maintain due respect for law" and the degree of co-operation he is obligated to render. There will be some persons in every community who will refuse to join, but a canvass of the community will lead many of them to say openly that while for reasons of their own they do not care to join, still they want to be generally understood as standing in favor of upholding the law. Securing the tacit support of these will often prevent their being hoodwinked into active or secret hostility later.

THE "CIVIC SERVICE BANNER"

Interest in the community canvass will be stimulated and the benefit from it greatly increased by the use of the "Civic Service Banner."

The Constitution Protects Us We Uphold the Constitution

which may be either paper, cardboard or cloth, 7½ x 11 inches (or in that proportion) printed in blue on a white background in two lines of tall, condensed letters across the long dimension, with a blue border one inch wide (or wider or narrower in proportion) studded with a line of 48 small white stars representing the States of the Union, and above, but near the bottom border, in much smaller letters, the words "**THE CIVIC SERVICE BANNER.**" The local committee should furnish these, either free or at a nominal price to cover the actual

cost to it, to be hung, and kept till prohibition enforcement is achieved and generally accepted, in a front window of every home containing a supporter of the "YONKERS PLAN" or a covenanted member of the "ALLIED CITIZENS."

While this name and design are the property of the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" and, with the wording, are protected by proper registry at Washington in order to prevent improper use, permission to manufacture and use the "Civic Service Banner" without charge will be given on specific request in each case (accompanied by a stamped envelope) to a representative **citizens** committee in any community in any state which has undertaken to launch the "YONKERS PLAN," or a local division of the "ALLIED CITIZENS," or the "ALLIED CITIZENS" basis of organization under some other name, or to use the "YONKERS PLAN" or push the local enforcement ordinance program in connection with any other working system of local organization. For the convenience of communities which find it easier and cheaper than doing it for themselves, the general office of the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" in New York City will supply "Banners" at a reasonable price, buttons with the same words in the same colors to be worn by subscribers to the "YONKERS PLAN" or covenanted active members of the "ALLIED CITIZENS," and gummed miniatures of the "Banner" to be used as "stickers" on envelopes.

INDIVIDUAL VOLUNTEER MEMBERS

Every citizen of voting age who sees this manual is urged to secure, sign and send an "ALLIED CITIZENS" covenant blank to the General Headquarters in New York City. His own and any other names sent in by him will be furnished to the officials of the proper local division in New York State,—or the state department of his own state if and when one is organized, until which time any such person should co-operate in local enforcement through any approved system of organization working in his own state.

COVENANT BLANKS AND LEAFLETS

As there are no dues or profit involved, there is no reason why a patriotic citizen should not try to enlist his own friends and associates. Covenant blanks and explanatory leaflets, 100 of each, to be handed to friends or enclosed in letters, can be obtained postpaid for 50 cents (in 2c. stamps) from the office of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" in New York. **Every signature is a blow at lawlessness.** Every name recorded helps raise the flag of **FREEDOM UNDER LAW.**

MAKES THE CLEAVAGE CLEAR

The canvass of the community for members of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" in connection with the solicitation of funds for the "YONKERS PLAN" will run a definite line of cleavage which will automatically put the law abiding on one side, and leave the lawless **and those who elect to stand with the lawless** on the other. Many a person who may not be strongly for prohibition or who may have some prejudice or grievance, when he sees the company he is in will abandon the ranks of the lawless and put himself clearly on the side of law and order. This tactical advantage will largely be lost if there is any silly, sickly softening of the issue to relieve any person from any odium that may attach to his own deliberate choice as to the crowd with which he will stand.

THINGS TO DO AFTER THE CANVASS

After a community canvass has made the local organization strong by reason of the community power it represents, there are numerous additional ways of furthering enforcement. These are of three general kinds:

1.—Those which will improve public sentiment.

2.—Those which will encourage or spur enforcement officials.

3.—Those which will improve the law to be enforced.

Activities in these three lines will touch all the factors in the problem of enforcement—the public, the officials, and the law.

HELP THE NEWSPAPERS TO HELP LAW AND ORDER

There are few editors to-day who will openly take a position of inciting to or encouraging violation of law. Most newspapers will print real news about movements to uphold the enforcement of prohibition, even if they are hostile to prohibition. Facts about the organization of a local division of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" with a statement of its purposes, or resolutions adopted by it either outlining a policy or answering untruthful or incorrect statements or charges against prohibition or the "ALLIED CITIZENS" will be regarded as real news by most newspapers whose editorial news sense is not alcoholized and whose editors are more concerned about a reputation for fairness than for editorial infallibility.

No untruthful attack respecting prohibition or the local organization to enforce it should be allowed to go unanswered. Where a newspaper persists in apparent wilful unfairness the facts should be given the public through other channels, and the owner or responsible editor should be called upon by a committee of citizens and talked to in language he can understand. The suggestions of Chapter 2 about dealing with newspapers should be read in this connection.

An appeal to the governor to remove a derelict local official may be big news. Letters to local officials calling attention to violations or demanding that they utilize some provision of the law may be important news. Such a letter, however, except one which is merely an appeal to the public over the head of an official should not be given out for publication until the one to whom it is addressed has had an opportunity in the ordinary course to receive his own copy.

Provided it also prints the facts which are **favorable** to prohibition and is fair enough to print the correction of misstatements, no paper should be criticized because it prints the nullification utterances or tells of the criminal activity of the wets. It is a service to the cause of prohibition enforcement to tell law-abiding citizens what they are up against.

The all-essential thing is to **do (or say) things that are "news,"** and let the papers have the facts while they are news. **Make enforcement of the law the big thing in the community and nothing can keep it out of the local newspapers.**

PUBLISH REPORT SHOWING OFFICIAL ACTIVITY

The local "ALLIED CITIZENS" division should help the State Anti-Saloon League secure, as often as once a month, direct from the local records a showing of all cases commenced and disposed of on the liquor question, with a statement of how disposed of; and in the event of a plea of guilty or a conviction, the amount of the fine and whether suspended, and the length of prison sentence, if any,

imposed. This should also cover arrests for drunkenness and other offenses relating to the drinking of liquor as well as questions relating to its sale and manufacture. It should also show injunctions obtained and other unusual remedies employed. The local organization should request and take whatever steps are necessary to secure publication by the local newspapers because it is a matter of legitimate local news interest, of these local facts and the summary for the State compiled by the Anti-Saloon League.

WIDE DISTRIBUTION OF PERTINENT LITERATURE

The local organization should circulate literature as widely as possible, primarily that which has to do with enforcement, and preferably that with a local slant. Local facts can be embodied in special local literature. The state organization of the Anti-Saloon League or the "ALLIED CITIZENS" will help to do this and suggest standard literature of general value. See "Don't Take Too Much for Granted," page 45.

One of the most important pieces of public service that can be rendered by the local "ALLIED CITIZENS" organization, supplementing its use in securing the "YONKERS PLAN" fund, is to give a copy of this manual to every local public official having to do with enforcement in order that such officials may understand the systematic and orderly way in which the movement proceeds, with its consequent certainty of ultimate success. It will be a profitable investment to include justices of the peace, police magistrates, constables and other town officials in the various towns (or townships) as well as county officials.

Further, a judicious distribution among the politicians of both parties, from the county "boss" down to the precinct captains and committeemen, will be helpful. **A large proportion of the so-called "professional politicians" are not only decent but really high-grade men,** who, while they must be "practical" in the political sense, are glad when they can have solid backing from good citizens on behalf of better conditions. And many who are already doing something toward enforcement would be glad to go further if assured of intelligent, sustained support.

Fair, courteous consideration toward political leaders sometimes changes the whole political background, and makes it possible without any compromise to have the help instead of the opposition of the political organization in getting good candidates nominated for enforcement offices. Every unnecessary local political contest saved means just that much more time and effort available for the main business of promoting enforcement.

The distribution of short leaflets offers an additional method of educating the public. Aside from one about the "ALLIED CITIZENS" itself and one about the "YONKERS PLAN," there may be had from the general office of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" a leaflet on enforcement which briefly outlines the substance of the New York state law and the Federal law, tells what is prohibited, and specifies in short numbered paragraphs "WHAT AN INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN CAN DO TO PROMOTE LAW ENFORCEMENT." The state Anti-Saloon League executive office or legal department should be called upon in any state outside of New York to help prepare such a leaflet for use there.

A SIMPLE COURSE OF STUDY

A simple, practical course of study can be arranged by the officers of a local division of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" and be carried out either by individuals or organized groups such as Women's Clubs. If space can

be secured in the local newspapers, the study-course may be conducted as a department of discussion there by some one or more individuals appointed to prepare the articles. The Anti-Saloon League in any state will be glad to advise those appointed to prepare the articles on any point concerning which information is lacking. The following is a suggested outline for such a course:

1.

- (a) How does the United States Constitution provide for its own amendment? How was the 18th Amendment adopted?
- (b) Why did such a large number of representatives in Congress vote for its submission?
- (c) Why did the representatives of the people in forty-five state legislatures vote to ratify it?
- (d) What recent decisions of the Supreme Court have there been regarding its validity?
- (e) How much of the country was dry before National Prohibition started?
- (f) Why was there no referendum on the Prohibition Amendment? What was the attitude of the liquor traffic toward every honest, legal, binding referendum on state or local prohibition?
- (g) What have been the results where the liquor traffic has tried to "come back" under a genuine referendum, after a trial of prohibition? Why?
- (h) What is the truth about the charge that Prohibition was "put over," and adopted "while the boys were in France"?

2.

- (a) Why was special enforcement legislation like the Volstead National Prohibition Act necessary after the 18th Amendment had been incorporated in the Constitution itself?
- (b) What does this Act prohibit and what does it permit?
- (c) What is its most vital feature? What weaknesses did it disclose in operation? How should it be amended?
- (d) On what grounds did the highest court uphold it?
- (e) What provision is made for sacramental, medicinal and industrial use?
- (f) Why has complete enforcement not been possible by the Federal Government alone? What has been the mode of enforcement under the Volstead Act?
- (g) What has been the actual effect of prohibition even under imperfect enforcement?

3.

- (a) Why were the words "concurrent power" put in the Prohibition Amendment so that it reads: "The Congress and the several states shall have CONCURRENT POWER to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."?
- (b) What has "concurrent power" been interpreted to mean in practical operation?
- (c) What is the purpose back of the state enforcement laws that have been, and are being passed in almost all the states and how will they help the enforcement of the 18th Amendment?
- (d) In what respect does the law in our state differ from the Federal Enforcement Act?
- (e) Whose duty is it to enforce our state dry law? How well is it being done?
- (f) Do juries bring in verdicts of guilty in clear cases? Do our local courts give prison sentences? Have any injunctions been secured? Any prohibitive taxes imposed?

4.

- (a) What must be done by the citizens of every locality after appropriate national and state laws to enforce the 18th Amendment have been placed on the statute books, to make sure that they are actually being enforced?
- (b) Does the passage of the Volstead law mean that the fight for national legislation is over? What are the outlawed liquor interests trying to do?
- (c) What is the attitude of our Congressman and United States Senators? Why may the reapportionment of representatives in the next Congress affect the national enforcement law?
- (d) In what way can the national enforcement law be amended so as to legalize the sale of beer and wine? Would this be in harmony with the spirit of the 18th Amendment?
- (e) What would a beer amendment mean? WOULD IT BRING THE SALOON BACK?
- (f) What is the truth about the food and medicinal value of beer?
- (g) Does the passage of a good state enforcement law mean that the struggle in that state is a thing of the past? Why?
- (h) What is the attitude of our representatives in the state legislature, and our county political leaders?

The general use of such a course of study will expose to the public how ridiculously untenable, yet what

an indefensible assault upon law and order, is the position of those prominent, reputable citizens who lend their names and influence to wet movements which purport to be perfectly legal attempts to change the law, but in fact are attempts at NULLIFICATION. The study, discussion, and answering of the above questions, and those that will be suggested by them, will prove the dishonesty of the liquor propaganda. Call on your state Anti-Saloon League for these or similar questions and suggestive answers printed in catechism form at a reasonable price for the use of members of such classes.

FOR BETTER JURIES

It is the common custom of otherwise good citizens to pay no attention to the workings of the machinery by which lists of jurymen are made up, and also to avoid all jury service themselves and then berate what happens in the courts. The jury system is never better than those who sit on the juries. It cannot be. Better jury results may be obtained in three ways:

- 1.—Scrutinizing the methods of making up the lists from which jurors are drawn.
- 2.—Educating good citizens generally as to the patriotic obligation not to dodge jury service.
- 3.—Turning the spotlight on juries which acquit contrary to the evidence in violation of their oath.

The local "ALLIED CITIZENS" through proper representatives should look over the jury list and into the machinery for securing both trial juries and grand juries, to see if there is any indication of jury material being selected chiefly from friends of the liquor traffic.

The officials and members of a local division of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" should urge the importance of good citizens serving on juries, and themselves serve, when called. Furthermore, they should serve intelligently and not give liquor attorneys a chance to challenge them for cause.

Instead of allowing a shyster liquor lawyer to put him in the false position of being so prejudiced that he cannot give a man accused of violating a liquor law a fair trial, an exponent of law and order should reply, in substance, provided such is the truth, to any question designed to show his advocacy of prohibition as a basis for a wet challenge on the ground of prejudice:—

"I was in favor of prohibition when that was the issue, but that is no longer the issue. The sole question now is one of enforcing the law. If accepted on this jury and the accused is shown by the weight of the evidence beyond a reasonable doubt to be guilty of violating the law, I will vote for his conviction. If he is not so shown I will vote for his acquittal. I have no opinions which will interfere with fidelity to my oath to give justice according to the law and the evidence and the instructions of the court."

Any person who is willing, though not anxious, to serve on a jury as a patriotic duty, allows himself to be put in a ridiculous position if he lets a liquor attorney trap him into an admission that his opinions and convictions on the question of prohibition constitute a prejudice so violent that he is unable to weigh evidence and give a verdict accordingly, in a case where the sole issue is whether or not the law has been violated.

JURIES ARE RESPONSIVE TO PUBLIC SENTIMENT

An official rebuke from the presiding judge when a jury brings in a verdict flagrantly in disregard of the evidence and the instructions of the court will help dispel either lethargy or hysterics and develop a sound public sentiment. And it is the duty of a judge publicly to rebuke a jury where its action palpably amounts to de facto conspiracy to disregard the oath taken by each member.

If local enforcement sentiment becomes so strong and interest so keen that a large number of citizens are present and hear the testimony and thereby become witnesses to the jury's shame, it will have a salutary effect upon the sitting jury and others to follow. The presence of a number of prominent citizens who observe facts that they know call for a rebuke from the bench will encourage even that sort of action. If a number of ministers are personally present to see and hear for themselves and at a service in the nature of a civic demonstration denounce jurors who have freed a notoriously guilty defendant in a prohibition enforcement case in defiance of **conclusive** evidence, and give a copy of what they say to the local newspapers, results may be quicker and more far-reaching.

No juror can honestly claim that he is compelled to bring in a verdict which violates his sense of his obligation under his own oath. He can refuse to agree. It is far better to have a disagreement with necessity for a new trial than to have a notorious violator of law acquitted.

CHANGING THE ATTITUDE OF ALIENS

Americanization work as carried on by the "ALLIED CITIZENS" should be a means of improving the sentiment of aliens toward the law. One of the chief reasons why these people have come from other lands is the opportunity life in America holds out to their children. The welfare of their offspring, therefore, offers a peculiarly effective point of contact for beginning the education of alien residents as to the value of prohibition and the respect which should be shown the prohibition law.

Nothing, too, is more germane to the activity of the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" than keeping watch of naturalization proceedings in order to give the public the facts if sufficient care is not shown, and in order to help develop a general public sentiment in favor of the policy already put into operation by some judges, to **refuse citizenship to persons who have been convicted of violation of the National Prohibition Act** or who will not say that they will obey that act.

NOTIFYING AND SPURRING OFFICIALS

The "YONKERS PLAN" is the arm of power for dealing with recalcitrant officials and the "ALLIED CITIZENS" supplies the local organization for starting it and doing the preliminary work which includes all that can be done toward co-operating with and warning enforcement officials and those who appoint or remove them. When patience ceases to be a virtue some such notice as this of determination to launch the "YONKERS PLAN" may be served **by the local "ALLIED CITIZENS."**

We have been earnestly seeking to co-operate with you to a satisfactory enforcement of the prohibition law. Your activities have been so disappointing and you have so glaringly failed to do what you could toward creating an aggressive public opinion on behalf of enforcement as to make further efforts at co-operation with you an unreasonable tax on the patience and intelligence of those who want lawlessness stopped. We purpose to act in the future along other lines better calculated to move you to what we regard as an adequate and due use of your official influence and powers.

Property owners should also be notified of their liability respecting liquor violations on their premises.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

While efforts at co-operation are still on, it may be well to have a public meeting under "ALLIED CITIZENS" auspices at which the public officials

immediately chargeable with enforcement shall be invited to speak. Such a meeting may be held every year or, in emergencies, without waiting for a full year to elapse. The character and slant of a particular meeting must be determined by conditions. The first meeting should start with the assumption that each official is going to do his full duty. A statement by him to that effect to a public gathering with the evidence that it is popular, will tend to clarify an official's own thinking and stiffen his own purpose.

Later, if enforcement is not satisfactory there may be a public meeting at which an address may be made by one or more local citizens or a report made to the public by a representative of the "YONKERS PLAN" Committee, or, probably better, by the proper representative of the local "ALLIED CITIZENS" organization, indicating conditions as they have been found. The official or officials should then be invited to say anything they wish to say in their own behalf, with the understanding that the audience may question them, it being of course understood that the questions shall be fair and courteous. At every such public meeting an opportunity to sign the "covenant" should be given those who are not members.

HELP OFFICIALS GET ENFORCEMENT FUNDS

"We cannot get the evidence" is the everywhere-heard plea of local officials. The local organization should insist that the municipal authorities in proper cases, and the county board in other cases, make whatever special appropriation officials need to secure evidence of violations of law. Where fines go into the same treasury from which such expenses are appropriated, if prosecutor, court and juries do their full duty, the law-breakers can be made to pay, through fines, the expense of their own detection and conviction, with no net financial cost to the public but great gain to the cause of law and order.

CONFER WITH PROSECUTING ATTORNEY

Before the publication of any "YONKERS PLAN" evidence, representatives of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" or similar local organization, but not the "YONKERS PLAN" Committee, should have a frank, friendly talk with the prosecuting attorney, **provided the spokesman knows his business and can be neither bluffed nor palavered off the track, and provided no in-growing conservative on the committee persists in breaking in at inopportune times to give the district attorney the impression that the committee are not informed and determined.**

The district attorney should be given an opportunity to talk himself through and then frankly be told that while the intention is to stand by officials in the discharge of their duty, yet the "ALLIED CITIZENS" and the public which it represents are not bound to accept an official's conception of his duty to the public if it differs from the public's own idea; that publication of the facts is essential to the creation and crystallization of the sentiment necessary to back up officials; and that there is no occasion for officials to take to themselves as personal, things which are impersonal and designed for the benefit of the community.

The public prosecutor, whatever he is called, should be told that while he is not asked to try any cases in the newspapers, yet among other things he is chargeable with responsibility for using his influence through any reputable medium of pub-

licity to create informed public sentiment: that if the laws are not susceptible of satisfactory execution the people should be so advised by him as their servant chargeable with responsibility in this instance, so that they can aid him by taking up with their governmental representative in the co-ordinate field of legislation the question of making proper change in the laws. In short he should be given to understand that he must either get results or assume responsibility for the failure to do so if he cannot clearly locate responsibility elsewhere. See also Chapter 3 respecting duties.

INVOKE FEDERAL AID WHERE JUSTICE FAILS UNDER STATE LAW

Where a notorious culprit fails of indictment or conviction under the state law because of hostility or incompetence on the part of the prosecutor, or because of political influence, the Federal authorities should be appealed to. The same act of lawlessness violates two different laws, and constitutes two distinct offenses, and both can be punished. One who wrongfully escapes in a state court is not put "twice in jeopardy for the same offense" when brought into a Federal Court for the identical illegal sale. While the act is the same, the **offense** is different. This should not be attempted where there is a conviction under the state law, nor after acquittal under the state law if there has been a fair trial.

Appeals to the Federal Prohibition Commissioner direct or through the Anti-Saloon League, resulting in raids by Federal prohibition agents and convictions in Federal courts afford a most effective method of checking up on and stimulating sluggish local officials.

VISITING THE JUDGES

The "ALLIED CITIZENS," through a proper committee, may properly get in touch with the judiciary, from magistrates and United States Commissioners up to the judges of the highest court that tries liquor cases. They constitute a part of the **people's** government with which the public ought to be better acquainted. Most judges of courts of record are both competent and conscientious. **Great care should be taken that every member of the committee understands that it would be an almost criminal blunder to undertake to talk to any judge about any case pending before him, because that is contempt of court if not conspiracy to obstruct justice.**

It should be made clear at the very beginning that the visit is to give assurance of the support of the law-abiding element in every effort to uphold the majesty of the law, and that there is no intention to discuss any particular case, so as to avoid embarrassing a conscientious judge and to give the occasional one who is so hostile as to be a de facto anti-prohibition propagandist no pretext to rebuke the militant friends of law enforcement.

If the judge in question has been imposing light fines and refraining from the imposition of prison sentences or has been refusing to issue injunctions, it should be made clear (followed up if necessary by formal action and publication) that the citizens of the community represented by the "ALLIED CITIZENS" believe that such a policy in fact **constitutes a cheap judicial license, is an encouragement to violation of the liquor law and makes a mockery of justice**, and that a judge is expected to use his full power to make the law effective. An unfit

or unworthy judge is no more sacred than any other recreant official.

ASK GOVERNOR FOR REMOVAL

If, as in some cases in New York, the Governor has removal power, the local organization of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" can ask the Governor to remove a prosecutor or other peace officer within executive power to remove, who is conspicuously not discharging his duty under his oath of office. It can also insist upon, or, if the law gives citizens the power, institute, ouster proceedings under any law which defines misconduct in office and enables removal otherwise than by executive action.

URGE REGISTRATION AND ENROLLMENT

An "ALLIED CITIZENS" division should urge all citizens of the locality to register—where that is necessary in order to vote; to enroll in the parties of their respective choice, especially the majority party—where that is required in order to vote in the primaries; and to vote on primary day so as to help **select** proper candidates, to be **elected** later.

GET GOOD MEN TO RUN OR ACCEPT

The local "ALLIED CITIZENS" can help induce good men to accept appointive positions, such as police commissioner, and to run for elective offices having to do with enforcement. Many a man will serve as a patriotic duty who will not be put in the position of scrambling for an office which is a thankless task at best. The local organization can both demonstrate and crystallize sentiment in favor of some peculiarly well-qualified candidate, and then assume the burden of circulating the nominating or designating petitions, or whatever formalities are required.

QUESTION LOCAL CANDIDATES

It is also within the province and is the duty of the local "ALLIED CITIZENS" organization to ask candidates for office having to do with enforcement where they stand on the enforcement question. A suggested specific question is: **"Will you if nominated and elected use your full official power and influence to enforce the prohibition law as effectively as any other law?"**, plus any local additions to or applications of this general query that may be pertinent.

A bulletin giving the questions asked and the replies of the various candidates, and, if any candidate should refuse to reply, a statement of that fact, together with the record of any candidate who has a record, should be prepared in ample time, and given to the press and sent to every member, with whatever recommendations it seems necessary to make. **But if there is nothing that needs special interpretation, a mere statement of facts, trusting to the common sense of the people to draw the proper inference, is far stronger than recommendations.**

PREVENT DIVISION OF STRENGTH

Where, as sometimes happens, a wet or nullification candidate is opposed by two enforcement candidates, particularly where one of them is apparently not qualified and there is reason to suppose he was brought into the field either by opponents of law and order, so as to split the dry vote, or by his own vanity, it may be necessary to warn the public and the membership of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" of the danger of defeat through division of the vote.

If the one who is the cause of the danger refuses to withdraw when approached personally in advance, thereby indicating either that he has an ulterior purpose or that he puts himself above the public welfare, then the people should be frankly advised to concentrate on the "best candidate who has the best chance to win," and if necessary be given the judgment of the officers of the local "ALLIED CITIZENS" division as to which candidate is that one. As it is always advisable to avoid any split in a local organization by avoiding any unnecessary divisive issue it will usually be well to ask the Anti-Saloon League to make such a declaration, because it will blow over and do no harm to a state-wide organization like the League, while in a purely local organization it might leave scars that would never heal.

If the local organization is so strong, and the questions so obviously ask nothing more than is required of any conscientious man by his mere oath of office, that every candidate answers satisfactorily, the organization can remain neutral. This insures protection of enforcement no matter who is elected, and prevents the danger of division of sentiment or hard feeling.

COLLABORATE WITH ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE

A local "ALLIED CITIZENS" organization should also send the state Anti-Saloon League information as to the past attitude and record of new candidates for the Legislature, and should collaborate with the state League in making any local recommendation respecting such candidates as aspire to be legislators, district attorneys or occupants of an enforcement office which represents a territory and constituency larger than the immediate community.

REPORT POLITICAL EXPENSES WHERE REQUIRED

If the local "ALLIED CITIZENS" organization engages in any activity of a specific campaign nature with respect to a particular official, it must, where the state "corrupt practices" law so provides, make a report of receipts and expenditures, and should have a special campaign committee and treasurer. This does not apply to the general work of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" (nor to "YONKERS PLAN" activity). It must be determined in each case according to the law of the particular state covering such matters. Where general contributions to the local "ALLIED CITIZENS" are appropriated for special local campaign purposes, such funds can be reported by the special campaign treasurer merely as coming from the "ALLIED CITIZENS" division of the locality.

LAW TO PERMIT TRANSFER OF TRIALS

In every state where such provision does not exist, it will be well to secure the passage of legislation permitting the "State" or the "People" as represented by the prosecuting attorney, whatever he may be called, to obtain a change of venue in enforcement cases, on making a proper and sufficient showing. There are some communities which so condone every kind of lawlessness as to make conviction practically impossible. Because the State generally has no right of appeal in criminal cases, this is practically an estoppel of justice and a defeat of law. There should be provision in law for transfer of trials from such a community. Objection to this will come largely from criminals and criminal

lawyers. The advantage of it is obvious. No man has an inherent right to protection in violation of a law which represents the intelligence and conscience of his state or nation merely because there is a conspiracy to nullify it in his particular locality.

IMPROVING THE LAW

No law is perfect in its early provisions and this is as true of national and state enforcement legislation as of any other. New tricks and devices on the part of the lawless necessitate added provisions in the law. And, what is of more moment, increasing crystallization of public sentiment against the lawless makes progressively stringent legislation possible as need is disclosed. Then too, the extension of the field of enforcement legislation into city councils and village boards of trustees is important. All these together open wide opportunities for local divisions of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" to aid in improving the law with which public officials are expected to accomplish enforcement.

SUMMARY TRIAL BY JUDGES ONLY

Where there is no constitutional barrier, legislation should be sought permitting the trial, especially in the larger cities, of violation of the prohibition law without a jury. In New Jersey, where illegal sale of liquor is merely disorderly conduct, this is done. In New York, for example, misdemeanors of other sorts are now tried in some cities by three justices of Courts of Special Sessions. All such proposed legislation, however, should be safeguarded by explicit words which preserve the possibility of a resort by the State to the grand jury process and trial by jury if desired, and further provide that trials in courts of special sessions without a jury may be had on "information" even though a magistrate has refused to hold a defendant or a grand jury has refused to indict. No community can get far on a question of this sort except as it acts with the Anti-Saloon League or its legal department.

LAW DEFINING OFFICIAL MISCONDUCT

Although it is a state matter, every locality can arouse and organize sentiment to be focused upon its own representatives in the state legislature in favor of the passage of a state law defining "misconduct in office," and providing a safe, sane, but effective, workable means of eliminating, before their terms have expired, officials of every sort who have made common cause with law-breakers and are proved unworthy and unfit.

COMMUNITY ENFORCEMENT ORDINANCES

An "ALLIED CITIZENS" proposal instantly favored throughout New York State is to have a local ordinance passed in every municipality: (1) prohibiting, in harmony with the Federal and State law, the sale of alcoholic liquor for beverage purposes; (2) requiring the old saloons to remove their screens; and (3) requiring every place which sells soft drinks to obtain a permit at a nominal fee in order to give a record and a check upon such places, and right of inspection without a warrant, and, through provision for revocation of the permits of those who violate the law, to secure an additional remedy against those who sell prohibited drinks.

The following has been drafted as a model ordinance for a city in New York State. The state Anti-Saloon League should be called upon, or local

counsel engaged as a matter of public service, to adapt this ordinance to local conditions in harmony with the laws of any other state,—or to change the phraseology to fit a village or town, with special reference to imprisonment power, etc.

FORM OF ORDINANCE

The common council of the City of by virtue of the authority vested in it by the Charter of the City of and by the laws of the State of New York hereby ordains and enacts as follows, that

Sec. 1. It shall be unlawful to sell, offer or keep for sale, possess, or give away liquor containing one half of one per cent or more of alcohol by volume, for beverage purposes; provided that it shall not be a violation hereof to possess liquor that has been lawfully prescribed by a practising physician, nor to possess liquor that has been lawfully acquired prior to January 16, 1920, nor to give away such lawfully acquired liquor to a bona fide guest in one's private dwelling, unless such private dwelling is a place of public resort.

Sec. 2. No person, firm, or corporation shall sell, offer or keep for sale at retail within the City of any beverage or liquid used as a drink without having obtained a permit therefor, for each place at which a beverage business is conducted, as hereinafter provided, except that religious and charitable organizations shall not be required to obtain such a permit where the sale, offer or keeping for sale of beverages at retail by such organizations is infrequent and occasional.

The provisions of this ordinance shall apply to every place where any beverage is sold, offered or kept for sale at retail; and the business of selling, offering or keeping for sale at retail any beverage shall be known as a beverage business.

Sec. 3. Any person, firm, or corporation desiring to sell, offer or keep for sale at retail any beverage shall make written application, duly verified, to the mayor for a permit to conduct such beverage business.

Sec. 4. The application, if made by an individual, shall state the name of the applicant, his residence, and occupation during each of the five years next preceding the date of said application; if made by a firm, it shall state the names of all the persons comprising said firm, and their respective residences and occupations during each of the five years next preceding the date of said application; if made by a corporation, it shall state the name and residence of each officer of such corporation and the location of its principal place of business.

Every application shall state the nature of the business to be conducted and the location thereof.

The mayor may require such additional information as he may deem necessary, and, for reasonable cause, he may refuse to grant any permit.

Sec. 5. Every permit granted under the provisions of this ordinance shall expire on the 31st day of December of the year for which it is granted, unless sooner revoked by the mayor.

No permit shall be transferable from one person, firm, or corporation to any other, nor from one location to another. The mayor may in his discretion revoke any permit for reasonable cause.

The applicant shall pay a fee of one dollar for each permit granted, which permit shall be conspicuously posted in the place for which it is granted.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of every person, firm, or corporation to keep in a sanitary condition the premises where any beverage business is conducted; and to prevent thereon any act or practice prohibited by law or by the ordinances of the city of

Sec. 7. Any room in which a beverage business is conducted shall be so constructed and maintained that a clear view of the interior of such place may be had from the street on which such business is located, and shall be free from any screens, partitions, fixtures or obstructions, either in the doors, windows, approaches or inside said room, which may interfere with a clear view from the street; provided, however, that any room in which such business is conducted not located on the ground floor or which does not directly front or abut on any street, shall be so constructed and maintained that a clear view of the interior thereof may be had from any entrance to said room.

Sec. 8. Any peace officer is authorized to inspect at any time the premises where any beverage business is conducted, or any other premises used or operated in connection therewith.

Sec. 9. Any person, firm, or corporation convicted of a violation of any of the provisions of this ordinance shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$25.00 for a first offense and for a second or subsequent offense by a fine of not less than \$100.00, and imprisonment for not less than one month or more than six months; the permit of any such person, firm, or corporation so convicted shall be revoked for one year unless the mayor shall, pursuant to a public hearing called for the purpose, sooner reissue said permit.

Sec. 10. If any section or provision of this ordinance shall be held to be invalid, it is hereby provided that all other provisions of this ordinance, which are not expressly held to be invalid, shall continue in full force and effect.

QUESTION OF LOCAL POWER TO ENACT

However, because of some question of powers—a question likely to be raised in any state regardless of whether there is any merit in the contention or not—the Anti-Saloon League of New York retained eminent special counsel to give an opinion on the power of communities in the state of New York to pass this ordinance, retaining him also to draft enabling legislation to be adopted by the Legislature if the proposed ordinance or any portion of it were held to be beyond the power of any of the political units in which such action was desired.

Counsel reported that cities in New York had not authority under the general law to enact an ordinance covering prohibition but did have power to pass an ordinance involving the other two points; that the village law did not empower a village to enact an ordinance on any of the three points; and that a town outside of an incorporated city and village had no authority to enact any kind of an ordinance.

ENABLING LEGISLATION, TO CONFER POWERS

Therefore, the prohibition element (Sec. 1, only) was temporarily dropped from the "Model Ordinance" for New York State, and enabling legislation was drafted to be pushed as part of the state legislative program of the Anti-Saloon League until passed, in the form of three bills amending the town, village and general city laws, respectively, by specifically empowering the duly constituted authorities in each case: **"To enact ordinances in aid of the enforcement of any statute of the state, or of the United States, and to prescribe penalties for the violation thereof."**

This proposal is so simple, fair and reasonable that no tenable objection can be found to it.

An ordinance has direct value because penalties can be imposed locally and because it enables a community where the sentiment is overwhelmingly for enforcement to get immediate relief when the sentiment of the county taken as a whole may not be so strong, or when county officials are not disposed to do the utmost that might be done.

Most people who have not had experience with enforcement of the law and the operation of governmental machinery are at a loss to know how to start. Federal action is vague and intangible in their minds, and even the operation of a state law seems remote. But the idea of calling upon the city council or village board, the legislative power of the most familiar political unit, to enact a local ordinance is something practical and appealing. Such an ordinance does not actually strengthen state or Federal laws, but it puts their enforcement directly up to local officials.

By such a local campaign it is possible to arouse the citizenship for action and put the community as a community on record in general favor of enforcement and specifically in favor of measures that tend to facilitate enforcement of prohibition. The attendant agitation made up of demands from the pulpit, articles in the papers, letters to and personal interviews with officials, public meetings, and delegations at sessions of the city council, board of aldermen, or village board of trustees, creates and demonstrates virile, insistent enforcement sentiment

in the community, and tends to secure more efficient action from a local police force under every law.

Such an issue is a barometer of local sentiment. It constitutes a kind of civic weight-lifting machine upon which to try out and develop municipal moral muscle. Until sentiment has reached the place where it can compel such action by the local officials of communities empowered so to act it is impossible to know that there is a majority sentiment for enforcement, and the work of education must continue.

SERVES NOTICE ON COURT AND COUNTY OFFICERS

Such an ordinance, once passed, is formal official notice to officials of larger political divisions—district attorneys, sheriffs and judges—that the particular political division which has thus expressed itself wants enforcement. This is sure to result in better enforcement of the State law in addition to the use made of the ordinance itself. This element in the case is of almost inestimable value even if no penalty were ever imposed under the ordinance.

ACTION PENDING ENABLING LEGISLATION

In a state where it is argued that such an ordinance or any portion of it cannot be passed in any class of the municipal units suggested until the state legislature grants the power, it is not necessary to shut down the local campaign for it until the passage of such enabling laws. In New York the "ALLIED CITIZENS" has recommended that cities move immediately to pass ordinances covering the second and third points, which counsel considers are now valid; and that the villages also, while recognizing the element of doubt in the matter, pass ordinances covering these same two points and put on the opposition the burden of proving that such ordinances are not within the general power granted villages in New York "to preserve the public peace and good order; to prevent and suppress vice, immorality, * * * and all disorderly, noisy, riotous or tumultuous conduct," etc.

GET THE BENEFITS AND STILL PLAY SAFE

Where it is desired to take no chances, all the educational and recruiting benefits to be derived from an ordinance campaign may be obtained without delay by a local movement on the city council or board of aldermen, or upon the village or town board, requesting that it adopt a resolution asking the senator and the representative of the lower house in the State Legislature for the district in which the municipality is situated to support legislation which will enable it and all communities to pass ordinances of the sort desired.

The adoption of such a resolution will practically insure the adoption of an ordinance when the enabling legislation is passed, and the people will have had a definite issue around which to rally in the meantime. The local officials will also have had the demonstration of public sentiment and the officials higher up will have had the official notification of the desire of the duly constituted local officials for more enforcement authority. This ordinance proposal, in its state-wide aspects, will reach and ultimately enlist for law enforcement a far larger number of people locally than can be enlisted in any enforcement work of a purely state-wide character.

Specific requests from pastors, churches, civic organizations and individuals, reinforcing the official request from city councils and village or town boards in behalf of this enabling legislation, will impress members of the state legislature with the extent and militancy

of the enforcement sentiment in their respective districts and lead them to consider more favorably any other supplemental enforcement legislation or amendment to the state enforcement code which may be needed. It will also provide a most effective back-fire against efforts to weaken or emasculate existing state enforcement legislation.

THE BEST POSSIBLE INITIAL LOCAL PROGRAM

Following the canvass of the community for membership the most important and most profitable thing that can be done by a local "ALLIED CITIZENS" division is to take up the ordinance program above outlined. Putting it through should so firmly establish the local organization in the confidence of the community that its influence need not be challenged within a political generation. Demand for an ordinance will automatically supply the requisite enforcement notice to local officials and afford the best general preparation for the "YONKERS PLAN," which can be launched as soon as the ordinance campaign is under way, thus letting each help the other. Such action is even more necessary in communities previously dry under state and local legislation, to prevent their slipping back in sentiment through lack of education respecting (1) alcohol, and (2) the need of making prohibition of its beverage use continuously effective, as many localities and some states did slip, before prohibition was enacted nationally.

If a court decides that such an ordinance or any portion of it is invalid, the case should be taken to the highest court in the state, while pushing the enabling legislation above mentioned to remove any doubt. In the improbable event that such enabling legislation should finally be held unconstitutional, a movement should be started both to amend the state constitution and also, meanwhile, to secure adoption by the local board of the resolution suggested in the preceding section. The additional effort called for by any obstacle will keep local sentiment mobilized.

GROWS LOCAL ROOTS FOR STATE AND NATIONAL ENFORCEMENT

The secret of the success of the movement for prohibition lies in the fact that under "local option" any community which was ready voted to adopt local prohibition. The benefits even under unfavorable conditions convinced neighboring communities. The policy spread until counties became almost dry and voted entirely dry under the county option legislation which the people demanded. This spread until most of the counties of a State were dry, and then the people demanded State prohibition. National prohibition was the logical next step. The growth in the first or enactment phase of prohibition was slow but steady **from the bottom**. Rooted fast in the experience of the people it grew to be irresistible.

The second or enforcement phase of prohibition, however, in wet States and the larger cities, most of which were wet, had to start from the top where the first phase had left it. The proposal for local enforcement ordinances is the simplest, most fundamental method yet devised to start enforcement back at the bottom on a firm basis and make sentiment in each locality that will take root, spread, and steadily grow till it embodies an overwhelming patriotic demand for obedience to law, and becomes an unshakable foundation for the State and national enforcement that is also essential, but cannot be fully achieved by the national or even the State gov-

ernment without such clearly demonstrated rootage of sentiment in most of the local communities.

In short, the local enforcement-ordinance program offers the only tangible hope of developing for prohibition enforcement everywhere, **in the same way, but to a greater degree**, all the inherent strength of the local prohibition preparation which made national prohibition enactment possible.

The **three-fold local program**, (1) community enrollment for law and order, (2) official recognition of the enforcement sentiment by passage of local enforcement ordinances, (3) the "YONKERS PLAN" to compel the local officials to carry that sentiment into effect, covers and offers the solution of every vital local enforcement problem.

CITY AND VILLAGE PROSECUTORS

It will often be desirable either to help the county prosecutor obtain enough assistants to cover every locality or secure whatever local or state legislation is necessary to provide for prosecution of all local liquor cases by a duly authorized city or village attorney. Judges or magistrates and police officers should not be left alone to combat unscrupulous liquor attorneys.

AN AMERICANIZATION AMENDMENT

The "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA" advocates nationally the following proposed Amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing An Amendment to the Constitution of the United States

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein). That the following amendment of the Constitution be and hereby is proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of the several States as provided by the Constitution:

Article ———

Section 1.—In apportioning representatives among the several States according to their respective numbers, aliens shall not be counted.

Section 2.—The Congress shall have power to define the meaning of the term alien and to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

The Constitution of the State of New York which provides specifically for the exclusion of aliens from the count of the population for districting the State of New York for the election of members to the lower house of the General Assembly, furnishes ample precedent for this.

It does not propose to interfere with either the immigration or naturalization laws. It merely proposes that those who pass the immigration tests shall utilize the naturalization laws to become citizens before they can be counted for representation in Congress.

Under the present Constitutional provision, wherever there is a large percentage of aliens in the population, corrupt political organizations like Tammany in New York City can secure and control Congressmen on the basis of the alien population, much of it not only ignorant but even hostile to American ideals, and then vote such Congressmen against genuinely American measures and in favor of un-American projects.

The proposed Amendment would put a premium on American citizenship by making citizenship an indispensable requisite to representation in Congress and give an incentive to a foreigner who comes to this country to become a citizen.

As Congress will for a long time determine the conditions under which prohibition enforcement must be carried on, this proposal, in addition to being sound

and promotive of wholesome Americanization, has direct relation to prohibition enforcement.

SUGGESTIVE ONLY, AND NOT EXCLUSIVE

The things suggested in this chapter are merely specific applications of the general principles herein. There is no intention of excluding any other sane, proper, related activity. See Appendix "What an Individual Citizen Can Do."

A PAID SECRETARY

In the larger cities the question of employing a secretary may come up. Where one is secured he should be an "employee" and not an "official", thereby keeping the rule that officials of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" receive no salary.

However, in many if not most cities large enough for this, the Anti-Saloon League will already have a district office which can take on the general superintendence of such local work and superintend the clerical work necessary. The local organization in such case can make an appropriation directly for this purpose, or increased special contributions locally can be made direct to the Anti-Saloon League in consideration of its undertaking such local service.

Such an arrangement will in nine cases out of ten give the local work far stronger and more expert service and at a lower cost than by putting a special, and probably inexperienced, local secretary into the field. There will also be the added advantage of close correlation with state-wide work covering general legislative and political conditions.

Even in smaller cities, where the Anti-Saloon League has not a district office, it will fit in with the plans of the Anti-Saloon League of New York for closer supervision of its work to put an expert in charge of one county, or more, depending upon the size of the city or cities within them, and have such "sub-district" head to superintend the local "ALLIED CITIZENS" work in connection with his general organization, political and financial work for the League. In such a case the local organization could supply an office room and a stenographer and let the Anti-Saloon League pay the salary of the worker, who, while necessarily absent a great deal over his territory, could, because of the small size of his territory, generally return at night to base, since automobile running expense is as cheap as hotel bills. Such a trained worker could give expert local advice and counsel, and supervision of the clerical work, in return for the saving of his own time through use of the office and clerk he would otherwise not have.

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

Truth is the supreme weapon in good-government work. "Knowledge is power" applies with full force to law enforcement. No field of effort brings out the superiority of the expert more strongly than civic betterment effort. And a thoroughly informed constituency in a good citizenship movement is analogous to a trained regular army in its advantage over a rabble.

The desirability of having **every member** of a local "ALLIED CITIZENS" organization versed in the principles and practical operation of law enforcement work at least to the extent made possible by familiarity with the contents of a manual like this, is almost inestimable. A very large proportion of people will not read such a manual if it is merely mailed to them free. A personal request, however, by an official or member of an "ALLIED CITIZENS"

committee will accomplish wonders. The average member will cheerfully purchase his own copy to read when **personally** approached with the offer to present him with one if he does not care to purchase, provided he will agree to read it. It is the interest, the effort, the personal touch, that is the vital element.

GENERAL ADVICE

Because it is possible for even a small minority to revolutionize sentiment in a community until it becomes a majority, it is highly important to follow procedure which is not open to any valid objection, and to avoid mistakes which might give a club to the enemies of law and order, and then no distracting side-issue can be raised.

The "ALLIED CITIZENS" is broad enough to cover any issue of law enforcement. There can be no such thing as "selective obedience" to law or "selective enforcement" of law. Good citizens of a republic must stand for the enforcement of all laws **on principle**. Furthermore, enforcement is the best and only safe way to arouse the public to do away with an obnoxious measure. Discretion is permissible, however, as to what measures shall be picked out for immediate attention by a local organization, and the prohibition law is stipulated as of first importance because there are some laws which are certain to be enforced automatically if others are first vindicated. It is folly to waste time on lesser issues when an equal amount of effort spent on a fundamental one will settle it and incidentally the lesser ones too.

In the long run, more will be accomplished for all laws by winning out with respect to the enforcement of one or more which call for special effort, than by attempting to spread over the entire field, with danger of dividing the enforcement constituency by unnecessary clashes of opinion.

The safe, practical attitude is to throw the general influence of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" in favor of all honest, sincere enforcement efforts, but to **FOCUS the intensive work of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" first upon prohibition**, and after that objective is achieved, upon such other items as are of most general interest and vital importance.

NO ANTI-TOBACCO CRUSADE

Under no circumstances would it be wise for any local organization of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" to undertake anything like an anti-tobacco movement. Let anyone who wants to engage in that sort of activity do it through some agency organized for that purpose. It is no defense of tobacco to point out that there is a fundamental distinction between that and alcoholic liquor in that the latter has long been perceived to be, and branded by the courts as, a major cause of insanity, pauperism and crime.

Efforts to impute to the Anti-Saloon League intent to move against tobacco and in favor of so-called "blue laws" were wilfully false wet propaganda designed to weaken the influence of the League and its efforts to bring about prohibition enforcement. For a local enforcement organization to take action which would make it ridiculous would be simply a form of organization suicide.

NEITHER COMPROMISE NOR FOLLY

While there is so much on which there can be no legitimate difference of opinion it would be folly to split a local organization over any proposal not fundamental enough to win general acceptance as

an embodiment of the general principles above outlined.

On the naked issue of upholding the law, there can be no compromise, regardless of consequences. But all sorts of things may be proposed by the unthinking to a local organization of this kind—things which involve nothing vital and respecting which there is no settled or clearly defined public opinion. In such cases it is wiser to **refrain from official action**, leaving every member free to oppose or support, according to his own judgment.

Further, care must be taken by the Executive Committee and by the members at meetings to see the influence of the organization is not destroyed by taking up foolish, inconsequential or irrelevant things. That is, every officer is under obligation to see that the "ALLIED CITIZENS" in a local community does not degenerate into an instrumentality for exploiting the whims of an individual or of a small group which may attempt to assume active management. Here, too, relations with a general organization like the Anti-Saloon League or a state department of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" will be of immense aid in meeting any difficult situation.

BE HONEST EVEN TO SUPPOSED OPPONENTS

Everything said in Chapters 2 and 3 about the necessity of giving the people the truth applies to the operation of a local "ALLIED CITIZENS" organization. There can be no defense on ethical grounds for suppressing or "doctoring" the truth when it seems to favor an official or political organization previously generally considered to be on the side of liquor and nullification. Further, it is utterly fatuous from the practical end. There is no field in which the proposition "Honesty is the best policy" needs to be heeded more carefully than in dealing with the public in matters that are called "political."

A righteous cause cannot gain additional supporters except from the opposition and those who once at least tacitly stood with the opposition. What inducement is there to "practical" politicians to come out for decency if they cannot be sure of at least a square deal from those who profess to be exponents of honesty and righteousness?

FAIRNESS BEGETS FAIRNESS

It is obvious that no matter how closely a political organization may have been tied to the lawless elements in the past, under the impression that this was necessary to retain control, the way should be left open for such organization to reform. It is successful, practical "reform" politics to make it possible for "practical" politicians, once enemies, to line up on the side of law and order. Such politicians, if treated fairly, will frequently facilitate enforcement even though they may never openly declare for it. And many can be brought to declare for enforcement who still oppose prohibition.

If any official is in fact acting on the level he is entitled to full, free, fair, frank credit. If he is not on the level in ostensible enforcement activity, then treating him as though he were, in the absence of PROOF to the contrary, is probably the most effective method of bringing about a disclosure of the real facts,—or of converting his pretense into sincerity. In either case the good-government movement is protected.

While giving the facts when they seem to favor supposed natural enemies in political and local governmental affairs is one of the very hardest things

to do, yet perhaps the most important single thing that those who would improve governmental conditions locally have to learn is,—**Do not be afraid either to FACE or TELL the facts.** Of course, this presupposes securing **all** the facts and not being deceived by supposed facts which, because only partially revealed, are not really what they seem.

The same considerations that have led it to hold the general organization to strictly educational functions, prevent the "ALLIED CITIZENS" general management from undertaking either to forbid normal, practical expression of community sentiment merely because it may be called "political", or to dictate the character, extent or limits of whatever activity is determined upon by any local division. All the general organization can do is to advise. It advises:—**Get the facts: Play fair,—and play safe: Be rigid on principles—flexible on details.**

WHERE IDEALS ARE PRACTICAL

No local civic or patriotic organization can engage in political activity and hold its membership together and retain its influence unless it is non-factional as well as non-partisan, and unless its policy, inflexibly, intelligently and tactfully carried out by its management, is to: (1) Tell the truth; (2) Deal justly; and (3) Put the public welfare first.

Further, an organization such as a local division of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" can afford to go into local politics at all only as a temporary emergency matter to discharge the collective civic obligation of its individual members to secure in local government a reflection of the principles of honesty, efficiency and devotion to law to which they are personally committed. It should not accept necessity for such special political activity as a sort of perpetual penance—a price of peace in the form of measurably tolerable local governmental conditions. It should seek so to conduct its work in the local political field as ultimately to make that sort of activity unnecessary. It should strive to create speedily a condition such that it can confine itself to a constructive educational program and carry it on with such effectiveness and freedom from distraction that so large a majority of the units in the voting citizenship will so instinctively rally to the support of good officials and so automatically oppose the other sort, that making it easy to do right and hard to do wrong will become the normal activity of local self-government.

Politics is the science and art of government, and government determines in large degree the conditions under which the people must live, seek to better their lot, and give expression to their aspirations. Government helps or handicaps even the Church in her efforts for the salvation of mankind. Therefore the best advice that can be given a local community is that it should approach anything which has to do with local government in a spirit of practical idealism which recognizes the possibility of local politics becoming **the supreme spiritual adventure of the community.**

CHAPTER 5.

THE DEPENDENCE OF COMMUNITY ENFORCEMENT UPON STATE AND NATIONAL PROHIBITION ACTIVITY

This chapter is not a mere addendum. It is as vital to efficient local enforcement as all that has gone before. Nothing of a co-operative sort can be done properly without knowledge of its relations to other activities and what the particular project owes to and may receive from them. A local enforcement organization will be guilty of unpardonable waste and folly if it proceeds regardless of what those who have had years of experience in setting up and advising such movements can impart. It will be equally foolish and improvident if it permits circumscribed local work so to engross local interest and support as to cripple the wider activities which are its own inspiration, undergirding and ultimate salvation.

Various communities have tried one or both of these short-sighted policies and always with disastrous results. Reform efforts, like other phases of life, must be conducted with due regard for the amenities of relationship, and there is scant room for debate as to what body of prohibition workers can give the most to, and should receive complete co-operation and support from, the earnest citizens of every community. Obviously, just as the co-operation of the churches which combine vision and militancy in meeting civic obligations is indispensable to the success of local enforcement efforts, so the state and national organization of that same federated-in-fact church constituency is essential to the solution of the state and national aspects of community enforcement.

MOST EFFICIENT LIQUOR FOE

That the Anti-Saloon League, not an organization in itself but merely an agency, furnished the medium through which by far the most of the working prohibition sentiment was successfully applied to the legal prohibiting of the liquor traffic, is beyond successful contradiction. Its enemies furnish conclusive evidence. This statement is no disparagement of the invaluable service in the creation of sentiment rendered by pioneer movements, notably the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Good Templars and the Prohibition Party. The Anti-Saloon League, which entered where others had labored, has been pre-eminently a clearing house. It offered a get-together platform, enlisted for prohibition many persons who had not joined any prohibition organization, and made it possible for all foes of the liquor traffic, particularly the churches, to work effectively and harmoniously upon its omni-partisan, inter-denominational basis of union.

HAS ALWAYS AIDED LOCAL ENFORCEMENT

The Anti-Saloon League is the only agency in America which for the past quarter of a century has actually aided enforcement of existing prohi-

bition through a regular legal staff, expert in enforcement procedure. This service has been furnished free for years in every State where the general support of the movement made it possible, at no cost beyond actual traveling expenses when an attorney was obliged to visit a locality. This minor requirement was necessary to prevent frivolous and unreasonable calls, response also being conditioned on the work being of a general or community nature, as indicated by a request from the pastors as representatives of the churches, or through a community organization such as a division of the "ALLIED CITIZENS."

If the Anti-Saloon League in any state is not rendering satisfactory service, the blame rests ultimately upon the prohibition constituency there which has either failed to give the League support or has not noted the lack of efficient service nor insisted on having it.

MEDIUM OF CO-OPERATION INDISPENSABLE

As certain things cannot be accomplished without a more-than-community co-operation, it is inexorable that a local movement which will not avail itself of the benefits of wider co-operation is doomed in advance to failure.

To succeed, a local prohibition enforcement movement must either lean against the Anti-Saloon League or against something else organized on a state-wide and national basis which can render equal aid. The reason is simple and unanswerable. No local law enforcement movement fights merely the LOCAL liquor interests. It fights the liquor forces of all America who hope to "come back" here and to operate again from here throughout the world, and also the liquor traffickers of the rest of the world who realize the need of blocking enforcement in America lest economic pressure alone ultimately force their nations to prohibition.

NOT CHARITY, BUT SENSE

Community prohibition is like community health and is to be had only on the same terms—attention to the things within the community which breed disease, and protection against disease spreaders that would come in from the outside. The whole world, practically, has been alcohol-diseased. The forces of civic health in America are now battling the disease and its spreaders, but the continued existence of the laws with which each community fights the alcohol disease depends—so long as the disease disseminators and defenders struggle to repeal or weaken those laws—upon the continued power of the Anti-Saloon League. In addition, all quarantine measures against the beverage alcohol traffic which are wider in scope than a community, those which relate to manufacture and transportation, to the mobilizing of the forces of the larger political divisions and of the nation itself against the disease-makers, and the effective maintenance of national quarantine against the concerted efforts of the alcohol advocates of all the rest of the world—including some of their governments—to discredit it and break it down, depend on the continued efficiency and influence of the Anti-Saloon League as the agency through which prohibition sentiment converts itself into operative prohibition.

A proper regard for all the factors in even mere community safety, therefore, will lead to interest in and support of the state and national Anti-Saloon Leagues and the world-wide battle against alcohol.

PRACTISES ITS OWN GOSPEL

That is why the Anti-Saloon League of America, realizing its own need of a co-operative medium of world-wide scope, brought about the organization of the **"WORLD LEAGUE AGAINST ALCOHOLISM."** This "World League" is not an effort to force American prohibition on other nations, but to help other nations to learn the truth about the adoption and operation of prohibition in America to offset the untruthful liquor statements now being published in every leading country.

The so-called practical, hard-headed, "charity-begins-at-home" individual who is "opposed to foreign missions" is interested in world-wide prohibition, even if he thinks he is interested only in American prohibition, because American prohibition will never be safe from attack by citizens of foreign birth and extraction until the countries they came from have gone dry, and future immigration has been measurably prepared at home for prohibition in America.

On the other hand, the missionary enthusiast who says in substance: "We have won prohibition in America and nothing further is needed here; let us now carry this prohibition gospel abroad" needs to understand that there is no single thing which can be done anywhere which will count so heavily for world-wide prohibition as to make good on the enforcement of prohibition in America, because America actually dry under reasonably efficient enforcement will make a dry world inevitable.

READY TO AID FURTHER

The preceding chapters of this manual are but the crystallized wisdom gained by the Anti-Saloon League throughout America in dealing with enforcement, and the League stands ready at all times to give counsel and aid in directing community enforcement efforts in the right channels, and in enabling them to meet the peculiar situations which are sure to occur from time to time and with respect to which no general rules can be made. The aid it gives, however, must comport always with its mission as a general agency and not take the form of **doing for** communities things which they can and must do for themselves. In all other things, and in counsel and supervision, the Anti-Saloon League stands ready to act.

SAVES LOCAL UNPLEASANTNESS

The League management is willing to do unpleasant work from which even the bravest pastor and most loyal supporters of the cause in a community may shrink because they have to continue to live with the other parties to that unpleasantness as neighbors or fellow church members. That is one of the things the League exists for. Its representatives seek to be efficient rather than popular.

Beneficiaries of this willingness of the Anti-Saloon League to be a scapegoat, however, ought to be fair and intelligent enough to recognize that the League does such things solely in order to serve, and should not allow themselves to be misled by enemies of the cause into believing that the Anti-Saloon League's consequent unpopularity in some quarters is due to stupidity, lack of tact or an unpleasant disposition on the part of the management.

Even if all possible care is taken in forming a local organization there will be cases where its officers will get cold feet or find some political or business complications that are embarrassing, and yet not have the courage and fairness to resign

Other local organization officers may become engrossed in business and private affairs at the expense of the public interest. In many such cases it may be necessary to bring about a reorganization. This cannot be initiated locally in most instances without unpleasantness, or starting a feud. It can be initiated by a state organization without such danger, or without permanent damage locally even if there is hard feeling at the time.

REFORM WORK A SCIENCE

While the average American citizen recognizes the need of the architect, the lawyer, the physician, the dentist and the various sorts of engineers,—civil, electrical, sanitary, mechanical,—not even excepting locomotive and stationary,—almost anyone is cocksure that he can run a newspaper or plan a reform better than do those who are qualified and experienced. Most of those who insist upon their own ideas regardless of tested forms, and who spurn turning anywhere for advice, overlook entirely the value and importance of accumulated experience; of connection with a general articulated movement throughout the state and nation; of the enthusiasm that comes from the broader scope; of the value of the larger phases of the movement in carrying things safely over the sag and low places in local sentiment.

It is entirely possible that any community may produce some genius, or some merely clear-thinking, level-headed ordinary citizen, who will think of or originate some interesting unique or valuable **DETAIL** of work which may be both new and effective. But no community can produce a leader who is qualified to disregard the combined wisdom and experience of **ALL** those, **everywhere**, who have given years to prohibition and enforcement endeavors.

WHERE DIVISION MULTIPLIES

The importance to local prohibition enforcement of an agency like the Anti-Saloon League in promoting the passage of laws and creating general conditions that make local enforcement possible is so great that one will accomplish more **even for purely local enforcement** by giving \$50 a year to carry on the "YONKERS PLAN" in his own community and \$50 to carry on the work of the Anti-Saloon League in his own state than by giving \$100 or even \$200 to purely local work and neglecting the general work.

Experience has proved that the citizen will get better results locally from entrusting to the Anti-Saloon League this proportion of his total contribution to good government than from the entire amount invested locally without the benefit of the League's contribution of experience, service and influence.

TIGHT COMMUNITIES SQUEAK MOST

As a rule the communities which have done least to make the Anti-Saloon League efficient as their agency have been the most unreasonable in their demands upon it, and most violent in their criticism when those demands were not met. Occasionally such communities have demanded from a state League forms of purely local service which would have cost the local people nothing but a little courage and pains, but would have cost the League more than ten times as much as the aggregate contributed by the citizens of those communities to the State League for all purposes, including

campaigns for legislation without which such communities would be helpless. Any reasonable person can see that such demands can not be met except on the preposterous basis of taking money contributed for STATE work by communities which are pulling their own weight, plus, and pouring it into other communities to do the purely local work that their own citizens are too indifferent, cowardly or selfish to do for themselves.

Experience has proved that whenever any attempt is made to meet even a part of the unreasonable demands of such a community it does not, as a rule, discharge its duty later, but is ungrateful and critical because more was not done.

DOES MOST FOR EACH BY DISCHARGING DUTY TO ALL

While the communities which are approximating their full duty on the question of supporting the general work are interested in having general state supervision extended to communities yet in the depths of the liquor morass,—in order to stimulate them, show them how to work, and enable them to accomplish the most for a given expenditure locally,—yet the Anti-Saloon League will best discharge its obligation to the cause and the public—including not only the communities which are doing their duty but even those which shirk and then get ugly because their consciences hurt them—by attending solely to its proper general functions and refusing to contribute funds given for STATE purposes to the doing of LOCAL work.

The Anti-Saloon League, up to the limit of the funds available for its work, will help arouse and organize the people of any community. The League will even help them raise money for local purposes. **But it will not divide funds raised for its own activity with a local organization, nor turn over or spend for local purposes, such as securing local evidence for local use, the subscriptions taken there for STATE work.**

A CASE IN POINT

It was almost infinitely more effective, as well as vastly cheaper, for the Anti-Saloon League of New York to create the issue and so arouse the people of the State that they elected a Governor committed, not only to the passage of an enforcement code making it the duty of local peace officers to enforce prohibition, but also to the removal of officials who refused to enforce it—an achievement which put the thirty-million-dollar-per-year police department of Greater New York City on the enforcement job—than for the State League, whose total annual revenue for all purposes was only about 1% of the annual cost of the police department alone in New York City, to have wasted its money and energy fighting that police department in a worse than futile effort to make it fight the liquor traffic. But when, by sticking to its proper field, the League enabled officials who were in earnest about enforcement to be placed in control of the machinery of Government higher up, the best possible—and an absolutely invaluable—service was rendered the city.

Further, the wiping out of the "nullification beer act" disgrace the year following its passage, and the enactment in its place of an enforcement act in harmony with the Federal law demonstrated and increased the ability of the League to overcome temporary back-sets due to political accidents.

CHEAT THE LEAGUE—IMPOVERISH THEMSELVES

Those who are not supporting the general work and receiving the regular publications of the Anti-Saloon League are not sufficiently acquainted with the forces of lawlessness which assail a community to do even local work effectively. History is a better teacher than theory, and the communities and individuals regularly contributing to the Anti-Saloon League are everywhere the communities and individuals doing the most for their local situation. The certainty with which, in any State, one can list those communities whose churches refuse a regular annual hearing for the Anti-Saloon League and opportunity for it to enlist both moral and financial support, and know that he has a list of the places conspicuous for public and private apathy on the Prohibition and enforcement issues, is tragic. Community-selfishness which seeks to save itself only, cannot accomplish even that; and in trying to do so it is not only false to its own good but unfair to the churches and people who do for themselves and for the State, the Nation and the World, besides.

“SLACKER” CHURCHES RETARD MORAL ADVANCE

One of the main reasons why New York City became the center of nullification activity; why only one city newspaper rebuked the passage of the “nullification beer act”—afterward repealed; why no newspaper in the election campaign of 1920 condemned the nullification record and attitude of the Tammany candidate for Governor; why the newspapers—even of his own party—failed to back up the law-enforcement candidate for Governor in his prohibition enforcement declarations in New York City; why city officials at first connived at or openly joined in nullification in the city, was because a small number of very large or very wealthy churches of special prominence in New York City **even of denominations committed to prohibition**, with membership containing a disproportionate number of outstanding leaders of society, business, finance and politics, during the entire fight for the enactment of prohibition were closed to the Anti-Saloon League.

This explains why so many otherwise law-abiding and intelligent leading citizens there—members of churches of denominations generally aggressive for prohibition—have flouted the prohibition law. They had neither the facts nor the moral conviction which men occupying similar positions in up-State cities had been getting for years at their church services through the annual Anti-Saloon League presentations, supplemented by the weekly visits of the League paper to those who subscribed even a nominal amount. This is no discussion of reasons, motives, or sincerity of devotion to the cause, but a mere statement of what the course pursued by such “leading” churches has done to the interests of morality and law and order in New York City and proportionately in other wet cities.

Perhaps the most scathing rebuke, because it was so temperate and dignified, ever administered to the “leading” pastors of a great city was a document signed early in 1920 by 1,000 pastors of up-State New York—of some 20 denominations, representing every county outside of Greater New York City and nearly every other city in the State—respectfully but insistently calling upon such prominent pastors of New York City to open their pulpits for the annual presentation of the Anti-Saloon League work, as these signers had been doing for years to make possible the victory which the city

was beginning in part to enjoy without adequately contributing either to win or retain it.

CHURCH FAIR-DEALING WITH OTHER CHURCHES

Any State League must follow the line of least resistance to a certain extent and, just as the National League did in the National Prohibition campaigns, spend the money contributed through it where that money will secure the greatest aggregate results for the cause generally. Time, plus the results in places ready for action, will ripen those which were impossible earlier. It will do less damage to let a community (or church) not yet willing to work on this just, mutual basis sulk and idle by itself, until the rising tide of enforcement sentiment lifts it, whether it will or not, to a normal comprehension and spirit of co-operation.

It is because the Anti-Saloon League pursues this course that it has made headway and is worthy of confidence. This policy fairly, kindly, but inflexibly, held to will accomplish results. Seven years ago only about 700 churches a year were open to the Anti-Saloon League in New York State. In many communities churches were not open because in the dim, distant past some inexperienced League man tried not wisely but too well to do things that were impossible. In others churches were closed because the League, grown wiser, refused to attempt to do something foolish at their request. Today, over nine-tenths of the churches of the State that squarely oppose the liquor traffic are open to the League.

THE STATE HELPED ITSELF BY HELPING OTHERS

The present advanced position of New York State on this issue, and the amazing achievements under the leadership of the State Anti-Saloon League in recent years, particularly ratification of the Prohibition Amendment which was generally supposed to be impossible, are emphatic confirmation of the principle that team work for the general benefit is the only intelligent local selfishness. Because the League as the fighting arm of the prohibition forces of the State kept doing what it could for itself and at the same time kept working as part of a nationwide movement and receiving through the impact of the wider movement continuous and increasing—and at last measureless—aid from the organized moral sentiment of the nation, the State got the full benefit of its own earnest efforts plus the fruits of the greater national triumph. When the New York League, for example, instead of insisting that its own local problems were so great it could not help in the work for a constitutional amendment, strained every nerve and raised and spent every available cent in marshalling the moral sentiment of the State,—and **increased** the Congressional vote from New York by a number in excess of the margin by which National Prohibition was submitted, New York thereby obtained prohibition for itself,—something it could not possibly have secured except with national help on a national basis until after many long, weary, terrible years.

SACRIFICE AND MORAL CONVICTION

The Anti-Saloon League represents more than a quarter of a century of experience and effort. In New York State alone in the past 20 years the people have contributed about \$2,000,000 in cash to organize and carry on its work. The things done voluntarily by pastors and lay members of the churches, both men and women, in supporting it and pressing its various campaigns would at the least possible calculation have cost enough more—if it could have been done at all by

hired labor—to equal a total cash investment of \$10,000,000 in this one State alone!

When it is considered that this kind of thing has been going on proportionately throughout America, and that the influence of the overwhelming majority of the churches of the country has been thus organized and thrown into the struggle, making available and concentrating upon this issue the total moral influence resulting from the vast sums spent erecting and maintaining these churches and paying their pastors and other workers, and the total moral influence of their membership and constituency, it will readily be understood—the time element being as indispensable in work of this kind as in the development of an oak tree—that neither a hundred million dollars in ten years **nor a billion dollars in twenty years could duplicate the potency of the Anti-Saloon League unless the duplicate were built on the church, and built just like the Anti-Saloon League.**

Of more moment than financial totals, **every dollar which has gone into the making of the Anti-Saloon League represents sacrifice and moral conviction.** The League embodies the cumulative conscience of the churches, and their willingness to do something toward answering their own prayers against the liquor traffic.

THE POWER OF PRAYER

It has developed the greatest extension course in civics practically applied to a moral issue that the world has ever seen. Once a year at a regular church service (nearly 4,000 in New York alone), the progress of the work is reported and the issues defined. Every subscriber of even a small amount receives free—part of his subscription to the general work being specifically applied for that purpose—the Anti-Saloon League official publication, either national or the one issued for the particular State, in most cases weekly.

Approximately a million people are contributing to the Anti-Saloon League, which has a printing plant representing half a million dollars and sends out these official papers into approximately half a million families.

The Anti-Saloon League, as the fruitage of time, has a momentum, a public confidence and a “good will” which could not be created in a hurry even with unlimited money.

Chief of all, it represents the power of prayer. It was conceived in prayer, has been conducted in a spirit of prayer, and is daily borne up by the prayers of multiplied tens of thousands of earnest souls.

Small wonder that it has developed such an esprit de corps and such a spirit of service among its workers that in more than a quarter of a century it has never had a split in its ranks; that the men who have shaped its policies and directed the work in its several jurisdictions have been in nearly every case men who would have profited largely in a financial way by leaving it for some other work, but have stayed as a part of their sacrifice to the cause!

A TRIUMPH OF MILITANT DEMOCRACY

These facts reveal why the Anti-Saloon League is the most unique, significant and powerful manifestation of morally militant democracy developed in the history of the world, having no existence apart from the churches which constitute it and use it as their agency, and no power except the power of the churches. It is living proof that the churches and moral forces can be practical,—the conclusive demonstration that self-government is capable of effective self-defense.

PRACTICAL RELIGION AND OPERATIVE PATRIOTISM

In addition to the vindication of self-government the Anti-Saloon League has taught the church its power

and its responsibility to a marked degree. It has brought about an era of better feeling. It has contributed far more than is generally realized to the mutual desire for co-operation that has led to co-operative church efforts in many directions. In spite of difficulties in the way of union of the churches, it has, without fuss or friction, achieved a successful, working union of the churches for outlawing in the greatest nation on earth the greatest obstacle in the way of the Church's progress.

No wonder its enemies fear it! No wonder that those who do not comprehend how Divine wisdom has guided it through the consecration of its human leaders, and Divine power has been permitted to empower it for victory, believe that there is something mysterious about it! It is the greatest combination of operative patriotism and practical religion ever set in motion.

LIBERTY NO SPECIES OF PERPETUAL MOTION

All this however has been but preparation for its supreme task now confronting it. The League has been built on recognition of the fact that the Lord never requires a majority of a town meeting to be with Him on the start; that all He needs is a chosen few through whom to set His forces in motion. Gideon's three hundred of the right sort are worth more alone than when mixed with human non-conductors.

The Anti-Saloon League has been an instrument of victory because it did not try to tone itself down to the level of the so-called "practical," but sought to establish standards of eternal righteousness and then bring the public up to those standards. The overwhelming popular majority for prohibition in America today is a modern miracle wrought by divinely aided natural means. But there is no short cut to reform in a republic. The sentiment which was not enlisted for prohibition per se in the contest for the enactment of it, must still be won to it if prohibition is to be safe. **An intelligent, sustained fight for enforcement is the last chance. The nation may never have another so favorable an opportunity to make good on the moral convictions and aspirations of its citizenship.**

The spirit of all patriots of the past needs to be invoked today to rouse the nation from all sleeping sickness of indifference, and from the deadly notion that liberty is automatic and self-operative,—a species of civic "perpetual motion,"—instead of being a product of applied faith, effort, wisdom, vigilance and sacrifice.

WILL QUIT WHEN LIQUOR TRAFFIC DOES

The Anti-Saloon League will be ready to quit within ten minutes after the liquor traffic ceases forever its efforts to come back or to violate the law. Until then the clamorous demand of liquor criminals and nullification newspapers that the League demobilize its constituency and cease its activity, and that its supporters stop their contributions, constitutes the most conclusive proof of the fact that as the agency of the federated churches it is the only thing which stands between the people and the breakdown of prohibition enforcement—the only obstacle to the return of the "SALOON," however that institution may be sugar-coated by beer professions or disguised under a new name. The League must continue so to stand so long as it is needed.

Appendix

WHAT AN INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN CAN DO

The collective enforcement responsibility of a community is but the sum of the enforcement responsibilities of its individual citizens. Those responsibilities cannot be voided or transferred; they can only be shirked or met. He who wants to meet them faces a wide-open door of opportunity, privilege and usefulness. All things thus far in this manual were meant to equip him to do his co-operative duty, but if he yet feels the need of a definite catalogue of things he individually can do, that, too, is supplied in the following list of things he can do in addition to supporting the work financially, in both local and general aspects, in a way that reflects his recognition of its importance and his desire and ability to help.

(a) BE INFORMED

The first thing any citizen should do is learn and live the American creed and catch and reflect the spirit of Lincoln respecting reverence for law. He should also become informed respecting prohibition and enforcement. To this end:

- (1) Read **AND STUDY** this manual, especially Chapter 4.
- (2) Take, and read, one of the regular periodicals of the Anti-Saloon League, preferably the one for your own state.
- (3) Learn why and how prohibition was accomplished.
- (4) Get a copy of the law, both state and national, and know what is prohibited and what enforcement powers national, state and local officials have.
- (5) Learn where the one-half of one percent. limit on the alcoholic content of beverages started, why it is essential, and what the United States Supreme Court has ruled as to its reasonableness and necessity.
- (6) Get the facts about the attitude of enlightened medical practice toward alcohol.
- (7) Get acquainted with the evidence that the opinion of the nation favors prohibition overwhelmingly, and be ready to use it, especially against uninformed loud talkers.
- (8) Be informed respecting beer and wine, their effect, and the forces behind the effort to bring them back.
- (9) Ask the nearest office of the Anti-Saloon League in your state for information on any of these or other points concerning which you are not informed, and have yourself listed as one to whom the League can at any time send any important information with assurance it will result in proper action.
- (10) Learn all you can about local conditions and what is and what is not being done by the enemies of law and by the local officials, and advise the Anti-Saloon League.

(b) HELP ORGANIZE YOUR COMMUNITY

- (1) Join the "ALLIED CITIZENS OF AMERICA."
- (2) Ask others to join; and send in their signed covenant cards to the general office.
- (3) Help organize a local division. See Chapter 4.
- (4) Help inaugurate the "YONKERS PLAN" in your community, using the directions in this manual as a guide. That is, do not merely subscribe to carry it on, but if nobody else does it, then be the single individual referred to in Chapter 2, who will, by himself or herself, start the whole community at work on it.

(c) INFLUENCE PUBLIC OPINION

- (1) When the return of beer is suggested, lose no chance to make clear, that, notwithstanding the pretense of the brewers that they are opposed to the saloon, **IF BEER RETURNS THE RETURN OF THE SALOON IN SOME FORM IS INEVITABLE**; that regular beer is intoxicating and prohibited by the Eighteenth Amendment—that half-way beer would cloak the unlawful sort; that the beer consumed by the American people before prohibition contained more aggregate volume of alcohol than the whiskey they drank.
- (2) Speak your convictions courageously whenever in your presence the violation of law is condoned or the enforcement of law condemned. Don't be bluffed into silence.

- (3) Distribute literature,—this manual, enforcement leaflets, and prohibition facts.
- (4) Discuss enforcement in the public press, and answer newspaper statements and contributed articles which slur prohibition or its enforcement, or which impugn the methods by which it was enacted or its rightful authority as law. The Anti-Saloon League will assist with information and advice if asked.
- (5) Secure lists of arrests and convictions for drunkenness, liquor making and liquor selling, and also the total for all crimes, month by month, and make them public if it is not otherwise done as part of a general plan. Let the State Anti-Saloon League know if you are willing to secure this information regularly for its state-wide public information service on this point.
- (6) Encourage discussions of law, order and enforcement by local religious, social and commercial organizations. Speak before them when there is opportunity.
- (7) Visit editors and newspaper owners and urge them to encourage and support enforcement.
- (8) Help organize any public meetings needed to arouse sentiment.
- (9) Get prohibition facts into the newspapers.
- (10) Take a hand in the work of Americanizing those of alien birth and viewpoint, that they may learn the fairness of the American system of government, the rightful authority of, and the proper attitude toward, all law.
- (11) Call upon your pastor, if he is one of the minority with whom it is necessary, and ask for more positiveness on the enforcement question and, especially, more instructing of the congregation as to their responsibility and power.
- (12) Personally urge inactive prominent citizens to make their influence felt for enforcement.
- (13) Protest, in the newspapers and otherwise, and urge pastors and others to protest, against jury verdicts of acquittal where evidence of guilt is clear.

(d) AID OFFICERS, COURTS AND LIQUOR VICTIMS .

- (1) Serve on a jury when called and urge other good citizens to do likewise.
- (2) Attend, and interest other good citizens in attending, trials of dry law offenders. The friends of the lawless are always in court.
- (3) Call upon public officials who have enforcement responsibilities. Any citizen may visit any public official who lives in his own community. This applies to all local officials, to the member of the Senate and lower house of the State Legislature and to the Congressman—in case they are local residents—and also to judges and the district attorney and the sheriff. In case some of these officials do not live in one's immediate locality but come there regularly they may be called upon then. Where they are not accessible letters may be written. In this connection read the general suggestions in Chapter 4.

The same thing should be said in either letter or conversation: "I am calling (or writing) merely to get acquainted and to let you know that I am interested in the enforcement of the prohibition law along with a host of others who may be too busy or thoughtless to come and tell you so but will know and appreciate what you do." If disapproval: "I am disappointed in your action respecting the enforcement of prohibition"—with a statement of particulars. In case of some particularly fine public service, commendation should be unqualified: "I am calling (or writing) to tell you how much I appreciate what you did. It makes me feel proud to have a public official represent the best public sentiment on this question. Call on me to help if you have trouble because of it." In any case use your own language.

- (4) Do not be fooled by the public officials to whom you talk or write. Many of them will talk frankly and sincerely. Others will try to make a case for themselves. There can be no valid excuse for an official's failing to try to enforce the law, and no excuse to that effect should be accepted. There may be reasons why some official enforcement efforts fail. If an official sets these out he should be asked whether he is willing to be quoted and perhaps why he does not make a public statement and appeal to the public for help in improving hampering conditions.

One of the great elements of value in this intercourse between a private citizen and officials is the benefit derived by the private citizen himself. His local government becomes more intelligible to him. He will frequently have his faith in human nature strengthened by the honesty and earnestness of purpose indicated by the officials he talks to. On the other hand he may have his eyes opened to the shiftiness, evasiveness, or sullen defiance of those officials that are hostile. But he learns SOMETHING.

- (5) Be on the look-out for and note any indication of the following forms of violation: illegal sale; manufacture; solicitation; transportation; delivery; advertising (liquor or recipe) by sign, circular or newspaper; prescription; purchase; or possession. (Illegality of sale, for example, may lie in selling without a permit, or for purposes not cov-

ered by the permit, or to a person who has no permit to buy.)

- (6) Report any KNOWN violation of the prohibition law or any circumstances that establish moral certainty of a violation to the Secretary or President of the "ALLIED CITIZENS," so they can give it to the authorities. DON'T PEDDLE GOSSIP OR MERE SUSPICION.
- (7) If there is no local organization of the "ALLIED CITIZENS" or "YONKERS PLAN" Committee, then report such violation to (a) the mayor or village president or head of the local police department; or (b) to the district attorney of the county or the nearest representative of the State police; or (c) to the Supervising Federal Prohibition Agent or his nearest representative; AND (d) send a copy to the State Anti-Saloon League so it can also take the matter up with the officials when desirable.
- (8) Make a sworn complaint to the prosecuting officer of the county, to a judge of a court of record, or to a United States Commissioner or to the Federal District Attorney as the basis for the issuance of a search warrant.
- (9) Make a sworn complaint (the Anti-Saloon League will furnish the proper form, a supply of which should be in the hands of the local "ALLIED CITIZENS" organization) to the Federal Prohibition Director for the State, setting forth the facts showing that any person who has a permit for certain transactions in liquor for non-beverage purposes is not conforming to the law, as the basis of a hearing as to whether such permit shall be revoked.
- (10) Make a complaint to the clerk of any court which has issued an injunction because of violation of the enforcement act, setting out facts showing that the injunction has been violated, as a basis for contempt proceedings against the person so violating it.

PROHIBITIVE TAX OFFERS UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY

- (11) Make—when you can get sufficient facts to do so—an affidavit which will cause imposition of a "prohibitive tax" under the National Prohibition Act. This does not require a trial, and results in the imposition of an additional penalty of more than \$500 (or more than \$1,000 in the case of one who illegally makes any liquor) which is larger than the fine usually imposed by many courts. Furthermore, this tax does not interfere in any respect with subsequent criminal proceedings. All that is necessary is to fill out and send to the Federal Prohibition Commissioner, Washington, D. C., an affidavit covering manufacture or sale, the form for which may be secured from your own Anti-Saloon League or from the Federal Prohibition Commissioner at Washington, and the tax is then imposed by the United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue and it becomes the duty of the Internal Revenue Collector for the particular district to collect it, the burden being on the person who has violated the law to show that he has not violated it and is not liable to the tax. Secure full instructions from your State Anti-Saloon League.

MAKE COMPLAINTS IN WRITING TO FURNISH A RECORD

- (12) Ask the local authorities personally or by letter—or, in aggravated cases, by a letter sent to the newspapers for publication—why the injunction process is not used; and why the prohibitive tax is not used upon certain places that are violating the law; and why drunken men are not given the maximum penalty unless they tell where and from whom they got their liquor.
- (13) Notify proper officials when a drunken man is seen on the street and particularly when men are seen coming drunk out of a given place. Don't just tell a policeman. Send written word, for the sake of keeping a record, to the mayor. He will refer it to the police department, but you will thus have the record on both.
- (14) Notify prosecuting officers when you know that parties arrested are former offenders. Severer penalties are provided for repeaters.
- (15) Keep tab on individuals who have had sentence suspended during good behavior and report any further violation to the judge so he can act accordingly.

ADVISE DRINK VICTIMS AND PROPERTY OWNERS

- (16) Advise any person who is injured in person, property, means of support, or otherwise by reason of the intoxication of any person, of his or her right to bring an action for damages against any person who by unlawfully selling or helping procure the liquor may have caused or contributed to the intoxication.
- (17) Advise the owner of any room, house, building, boat, vehicle, structure or place which is being used for the illegal manufacture or sale of liquor of that fact and of his liability to have his property closed under injunction, or sold to pay fines and costs, in order that such owner may protect himself by declaring a forfeiture of the lease and evicting violators of the law from his premises.
If one has no direct and conclusive evidence, it is sufficient to notify the property owner that men are seen to go into the place sober and come out drunk.

The notice should be careful not to contain anything that cannot be proved, and copies should be sent to the local officials, the Federal officials and the Anti-Saloon League, either direct or through the local "ALLIED CITIZENS."

- (18) Send the Anti-Saloon League any clippings and other information that you have, bearing on either law enforcement or political conditions that may have a relation to law enforcement.

(e) ACT POLITICALLY

- (1) Register as a voter. Urge other good citizens to do so.
- (2) Enroll in a party—the party in which you think you can render the most service—and help nominate and elect fit public officials.
- (3) Take part in the primary election campaign.
- (4) Help bring out capable and rightly disposed candidates.
- (5) Help circulate their designating petitions.
- (6) Call upon or write the local or county political leaders and ask them to pick competent, conscientious men for law enforcement positions.
- (7) Attend the primary elections, and VOTE.
- (8) Do your part in the election campaign.
- (9) Vote on election day.
- (10) Serve as watcher at the polls in primary or election contests over enforcement officials, when asked or needed.
- (11) Accept official responsibility when it is urged upon you and you can serve your community by shouldering it. But don't hunt for it, and under no circumstances allow yourself to be induced to become a candidate for any office for which an honest, capable friend of enforcement is already a candidate, when there is, or may be, a wet candidate who might win if the enforcement vote is divided.

If you feel your courage getting low in the face of prohibition enforcement difficulties read the following carefully—and ponder.

BATTLE ORDER TO MACHINE GUNNERS

of the 27th Division, A. E. F., given by Major Gen. John F. O'Ryan, of New York, before the "Breaking of the Hindenburg Line," Sept. 28, 1918.

1. This position will be held and the section will remain here until relieved.
2. The enemy cannot be allowed to interfere with this programme.
3. If the gun team cannot remain here alive, it will remain here dead, but in any case, it will remain here.
4. Should any man, through shell shock or other cause, attempt to surrender, he will remain here—dead.
5. Should the gun be put out of action the team will use rifles, revolvers, Mills grenades and other novelties.
6. Finally, the position, as stated, will be held.

The position was held.

Two "Yonkers Plan" Contributors

MR. MACY'S \$25,000 CONTRIBUTION

The publication of the following letter from Mr. V. Everit Macy, Commissioner of Charities and Corrections for Westchester, New York's largest suburban county, attracted nation-wide attention to the "YONKERS PLAN":

New York, Feb. 10, 1921.

Mr. William H. Anderson
906 Broadway
New York City

My dear Mr. Anderson:

Few persons are in better position to judge of the evil effects of alcohol than the Commissioners of Charities and Corrections throughout the country. Our experience in Westchester has been similar to that in other places and for six months after the Volstead Act first became effective, the number of prisoners and actual alcoholic cases in the County Hospital were very much reduced. The effect of the recent lax enforcement was immediately shown by the rapid increase in the number of prisoners and in many acute cases of alcoholism.

The matter of law enforcement, however, is of more importance than that of prohibition, and all citizens of Westchester regardless of their views on prohibition must agree that the Constitution of the United States must be upheld and the laws carried out. Lax enforcement of the Volstead Act is just as serious as the lax enforcement of any other law. The very spirit of disorder and crime that is so menacing at the present time is directly encouraged by those violating this law.

In the interest of law and order in Westchester County and to help reduce the evils of alcohol to a minimum, I am glad to pledge five thousand dollars a year for five years toward the

enforcement of the Volstead Act in Westchester County on the basis of the "Yonkers Plan" on the following conditions: that one thousand dollars per year shall be available for general County use, provided four times that sum is subscribed by others and that the remaining four thousand per year shall be used in various localities in the ratio that the local population bears to the population of the County, provided that each locality obtains subscriptions of four times the amount applied to that district.

I am sure you will be able to find others equally willing to join in a campaign of law enforcement in Westchester County.

Yours truly,

(Signed) V. EVERIT MACY.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., APPROVES AND GIVES AID

Following this Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who is only a summer resident of the county, made a subscription of \$5,000 to carry on the "YONKERS PLAN" for Westchester County on the same conditions as those contained in Mr. Macy's letter, except that it was for one year only, he not caring to commit himself for more than one year at a time. He accompanied his subscription with the following letter, which was carried throughout the country by the press associations:

26 Broadway
New York

March 17, 1921.

Dear Mr. Anderson:

In forwarding my pledge to contribute toward the fund which is being raised to meet the conditional offer of Mr. V. Everit Macy for work in Westchester County under the so-called "Yonkers Plan," I take occasion to express my feeling of the vital importance of law observance and law enforcement as essential to the permanence of our free institutions. The question of the wisdom and propriety of National Prohibition is no longer at issue, having been decided by the adoption of the Federal constitutional amendment and sustained by the United States Supreme Court. It is now the law of the land, predicated upon a constitutional amendment, which is the most solemn form of legislation possible under our form of government. To fail in the observance and enforcement of such a law strikes at the very foundations of orderly government, and is in that way an attack upon civil liberty, for in a republic there can be no freedom for the individual if there is no respect for and enforcement of the laws which have been enacted in the manner prescribed by the people themselves in the constitutions which they have adopted.

While the general legislation of Nation and State determines the conditions under which enforcement must be carried on, yet in the last analysis enforcement is a local matter and must be worked out in every locality, and the people of each locality must face and assume their responsibility for the creation and maintenance of the public sentiment that will support local officials in enforcement and require them to do their duty. The process of public education, which is essential to the enforcement of any law which is singled out for organized attack and efforts at modification, will result in a better public comprehension of the importance of upholding the sanctity of law in general.

Very truly,

(Signed) JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.

Mr. William H. Anderson
The Anti-Saloon League
906 Broadway, New York City

NOTE:—Information respecting a supplemental pamphlet "WHAT WAS SAID AND DONE IN YONKERS," will be found at the bottom of page 14.

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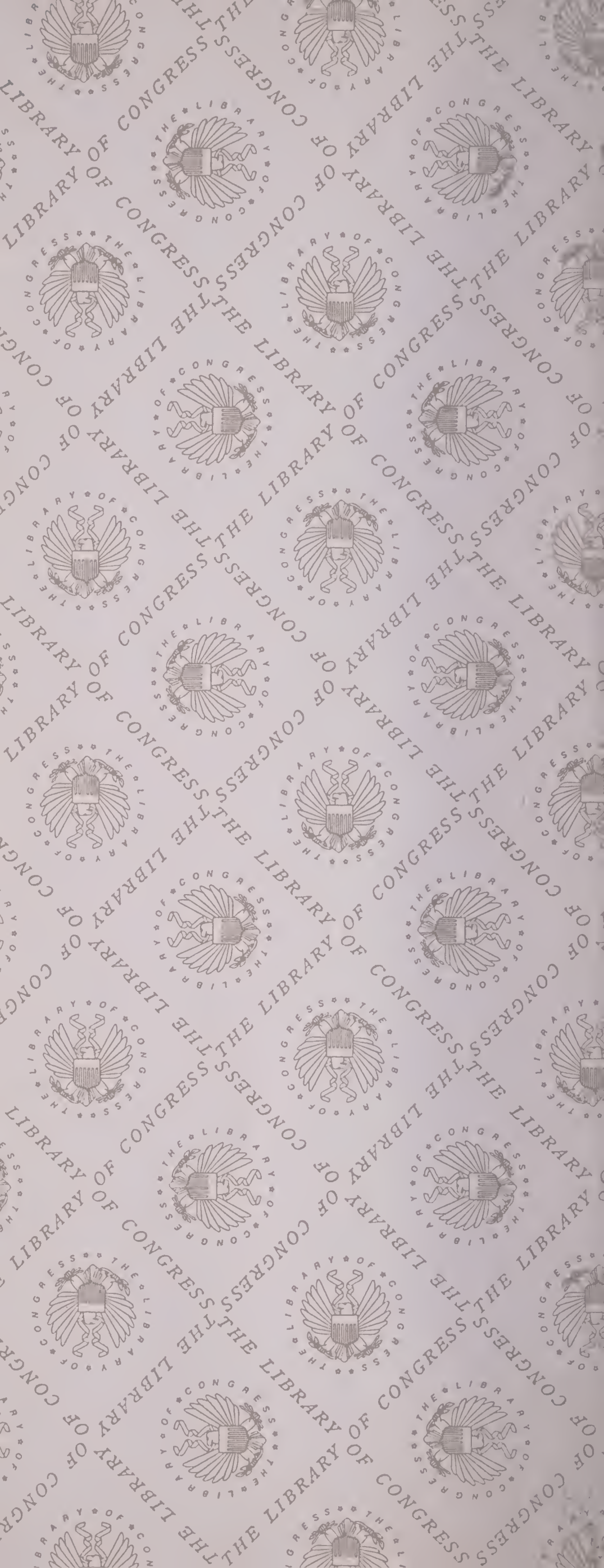
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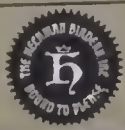
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THE YONKERS PLAN

THE
“Yonkers Plan”





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